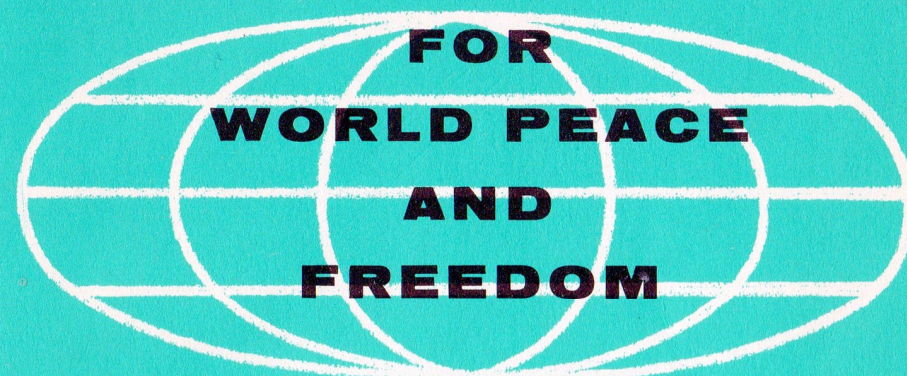


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Proceedings of the

AFL-CIO CONFERENCE ON WORLD AFFAIRS

APRIL 19-20, 1960

NEW YORK CITY

AFL-CIO
CONFERENCE ON WORLD AFFAIRS

held on

Tuesday and Wednesday

April 19-20, 1960

at the

Century Room

Commodore Hotel

New York, New York

GEORGE M. HARRISON

Vice President, AFL-CIO

Chairman

AFL-CIO International Affairs Committee

Presiding



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FOREWORD

This volume is more than the recording of vital speeches at an historic conference. Here is history, living history, at a very crucial moment in the life of the American people.

For American labor to hold a *Conference on World Affairs*, addressed by outstanding authorities on international problems, is itself an event of no small significance. It reveals the expanding social vision of American labor and its deep concern for human well-being and freedom. Here was a meaningful demonstration of our desire and determination to help our country fulfill its great responsibilities to the liberty-loving people of every color, creed, and continent.

This Conference also represented a landmark in the progress of American labor as a dynamic force for strengthening its own ranks and the free world labor movement as a bulwark of human dignity, freedom, and harmonious relations among all peoples.

Our Conference on World Affairs could not have come at a more appropriate moment—less than a month before the scheduled opening of the Summit at Paris. Beyond question, the problems considered at our Conference continue to be in the forefront of international concern. This was strikingly confirmed by subsequent developments.

We have had a most encouraging response to our publication of the Special New York Times Supplement (May 8, 1960) containing substantial excerpts of the principal addresses delivered at our Conference. On the other hand, within a few days after it ended, our Conference was bitterly condemned by two of the world's arch enemies of freedom and world peace—Anastas Mikoyan and Nikita Khrushchev. The entire regimented press within the Soviet Empire and its Kremlin-controlled counterpart in the free world instantly echoed their masters in Moscow.

What has happened at Paris since the ending of our Conference serves only to confirm the soundness of AFL-CIO Vice President George M. Harrison's opening remarks when he pointed out that:

"Our job at this Conference is to help our country replace apathy with alertness and action, complacency with a sense of urgency, and confusion with clarification, understanding and a sense of purpose and direction. . . . There is a great and growing desire by all peoples for peace. We must, however, be on guard against wishful thinking and self-deception. Today, there are no short cuts to world peace, let alone to peace and freedom."

We hope that this volume will help our nation develop greater understanding of the crisis at hand and the sense of urgency, purpose, and direction so vital to America's serving ever more effectively the great cause of human freedom and world peace.

Washington, D. C.
June 15, 1960

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George Meany

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Washington, D. C.
June 18, 1960

PROCEEDINGS

AFL-CIO Conference on World Affairs

FIRST DAY—MORNING SESSION

Tuesday, April 19, 1960

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Will the conference please come to order. President Meany, my colleagues on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, delegates and friends:

I am very happy to have the opportunity to welcome all the delegates and our friends to this conference of the AFL-CIO on world affairs.

We meet here this morning on a very historic day. In April 1775 there was fought the Battle of Lexington and Concord. By modern standards and measures, this battle was short and small. There were not so many men involved in the fight, and the casualties were comparatively light. But the idea behind the fight was a great idea and one that has proven to be the solution for mankind's problems. It was the idea of freedom and the ideal of freedom. That is why historians speak of the "shot heard round the world" in telling the story of the Battle of Lexington and Concord. It has been said, and rightly so, that on the 19th of April, 1775, there died the old order, and on that day many ordinary citizens showed how deeply they believed in freedom and how ready they were to answer the call to defend it.

We of American Labor are ordinary citizens and we are devoted to freedom. Our country and the rest of mankind are now going through a very critical period. This is an acute critical period because the threat of Communist despotism against freedom presents a grave situation.

The fight for human freedom continues. The forces of free-

dom must win if the moral values and democratic ideals which we cherish so highly are to survive and thrive.

The first requirement of such victory is clarification and understanding of the issues involved. Unfortunately, there is too much apathy and complacency in our country at this critical time. Too few of our Americans are sufficiently aware of the seriousness of the Communist threat to human freedom, to our national security, and to world peace. Too few are alert to the fact that if freedom is to be protected and promoted in 1960, the ordinary citizen will have to show today as much concern over freedom as our forefathers did when they fought the Revolutionary War for America's independence.

Our job at this conference is to help our country replace apathy with alertness and action, complacency with the sense of urgency, confusion with clarification, understanding and a sense of purpose and direction.

In this spirit, the AFL-CIO has called this conference and arranged for outstanding leaders in the field of world affairs to address you on various phases of the critical struggle for peace and freedom. The opinions to be expressed by the speakers may or may not be in accord with those of the AFL-CIO. Their conclusions are yours to think about, to modify, to accept or reject. They are opinions of outstanding Americans, whose patriotism, sincerity and qualifications are beyond question.

World Problems—Our Problems

This conference could not come at a more appropriate moment. The diplomats of the world are engaged in endless conferences. The statesmen and heads of state are operating on jet-propelled schedules, headed towards the Summit, where all problems are to be discussed, and if possible, solutions found.

Disarmament, outer space, Germany, Tibet, India, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and other important issues vitally concern not only diplomats but all of us—in the smallest isolated village no less than in the biggest cities.

The imperative challenge in the world today is to find means for survival tomorrow. With the United States, Britain, France and Russia possessing nuclear weapons and the probability that Red China may soon attain similar powers of destruction, man has finally produced the means for the total destruction of his species.

The immediate challenge that transcends all our other needs is to seek and secure understandings among the nuclear powers and develop the devices which will prevent the use of such weapons to destroy our civilization. We also have the problem of dis-

mantling and completely eliminating the international subversive mechanisms effectively used to impose objectionable ideologies upon defenseless people. Our best minds must be put to work to find a way to live in peace and freedom, to control nuclear discoveries for peaceful uses and reduce conventional armaments.

There is a great need and a great desire of all peoples for peace. This desire is all the stronger because of the horrible potential for limitless destruction by nuclear weapons and other instruments of mass annihilation.

We must, however, be on guard against wishful thinking and self-deceptions. Today there are no shortcuts to world peace, let alone to peace and freedom. We cannot think realistically of what co-existence means to Moscow without keeping uppermost in our mind the brutal Soviet suppression of Hungary. The Khrushchev dictatorship has never hidden from us its unrelenting determination to dominate the world and remold it on the Soviet pattern. We dare not hide this Soviet aim from ourselves, and we must face it squarely and meet it for what it is, no matter how it is camouflaged.

American labor and the American people do not want peace with chains and slavery. We want peace and freedom, not the peace of the jailhouse or the cemetery. American labor has the most vital stake in the struggle between democracy and dictatorship. No free trade-union movement can exist without democracy, nor can democracy survive anywhere, for any length of time, without a strong and free trade-union movement. Dictators of every stripe have always understood this. Free labor has been the first target of every dictatorship.

Experience has taught us that the weakening or destruction of freedom anywhere only serves the undermining and overthrow of freedom everywhere. That is why we of American labor opposed Bolshevism, Fascism, Nazism, Falangism, and Peronism, from the very outset. Hunger and disease are enemies to be fought on a world-wide scale, and there is no room for colonialism in the free world. Modern technology makes possible the conquest of poverty and the attainment of prosperity everywhere. We not only believe in this, we believe in doing something about it.

Free World Plan, Purpose and Power Necessary

The free world must develop the purpose, the plan and the power to meet the Communist challenge and its subversive conspiracy. There must be no captive nations in Africa, Europe or anywhere else. Our country must develop the sense of urgency, the will, and the strength to meet its historic responsibility in serving human freedom, peace and well-being.

American labor's continuing and growing interest in our country's foreign policy demonstrates the great vitality of our democracy, and may we all appreciate that the vitality of our democracy is directly dependent upon the initiative, energy and interest shown by our voluntary organizations and our members in meeting the basic problems and needs of the community. By developing a strong interest in our nation's foreign policy, we are serving our democracy.

American labor has, especially since World War II, engaged in many international activities, often global in perspective and performance.

Now, for information of the delegates and attendants at our conference, the press and invited guests to this conference may get reference material in the packets distributed at the Registration Desk and on the tables where you enter the conference room.

Before presenting our first speaker, I think perhaps I ought to indicate the general rules that we feel will expedite the conference. After the speaker presents his views to the conference, there will be a period of thirty minutes in which the members of the delegation may ask questions or comment upon the views expressed by the speaker. But each individual so participating and asking questions or commenting upon the views expressed by a speaker should limit his presentation to a period of five minutes. I think, perhaps, we will appreciate the necessity for these limitations, because we only have thirty minutes following the presentation of each speaker for questions and answers to these questions.

Now, it is my distinct pleasure and great honor to present the first speaker to our conference. He needs little introduction, because he is known throughout our great country and throughout the world as Mr. American Labor.

He is the great president of our American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and he will now address you on "American Labor and the World Crisis." It is a great pleasure to present President George Meany.

(Loud applause.)

GEORGE MEANY

"American Labor and the World Crisis"

PRESIDENT MEANY: Chairman Harrison, my colleagues on the Executive Council, our distinguished guests, visitors and delegates to this conference:

We are moving rapidly day by day toward the ultimate challenge in the history of mankind.

This is a challenge on the one hand and the most promising opportunity in recorded time for deliverance from the age-old enemies of humanity—hunger, disease, ignorance and despotism.

On the other hand, it threatens total danger of extinction.

The stakes in this crisis are too high to entrust blindly to the few leaders at the Summit without the advice and consent of the people they represent. Each and every individual in a democracy such as ours has a clear responsibility to contribute to the final decision on this vital problem.

The American trade-union movement accepts that responsibility. We meet here as free citizens to weigh the facts and analyze the problems, to help create an intelligent, vigorous public opinion and to strengthen the hand of our Government.

Labor's concern with world affairs did not spring up overnight. From the beginning of the century we recognized and put into practice an international fraternity of freedom. We joined hands with the free trade-union movements of other lands against dictatorship and in support of democracy.

As a result of close contact with world developments, American labor not only rejected Communism, but was also able to spot the oncoming menace of Facism, Nazism and Japanese imperialism long before other groups in this country were aware of the gathering storm. Immediately after the surrender of Hitler, all our representatives moved into Europe with the occupational forces to help rebuild the free labor movements in liberated Germany, France and Italy. We did this because we understood the plans of Communism to take over these countries by first seizing control of their labor movements. American labor's significant contribution to the success of the Marshall Plan and the rehabilitation of free Europe has been publicly acknowledged by President Eisenhower and the leaders of our Allies.

Because we have served a long and hard apprenticeship, the American trade-union movement is qualified to consider the issues of the current world crisis at this conference, not as amateurs but as full-fledged journeymen. We know the score. We know the character and capabilities of the contestants. We know how much depends on the outcome of this struggle.

Positive Potential

Let us first examine the positive potential. Our civilization, hour by hour and year by year, is breaking through past barriers that have stood in the way of universal participation in the benefits of progress.

The time will soon come when the world will be able to pro-

duce enough food so that no person ever again will have to go hungry, so that children and adults in every land can enjoy a healthful diet.

Before too long, every nation can have the power, the material resources and the industrial knowhow to provide decent homes, adequate clothing and well-paid employment for its people.

In the foreseeable future, science surely will find the answer to the major diseases that still victimize millions each year, thus making possible a considerable expansion of the average human life-span.

In the course of a generation or two, illiteracy and ignorance can be wiped out through the expansion and improvement of education.

At this very moment, great masses of people are rising up against economic and political subjugation and reaching for their rights and dignity as human beings. Their search for freedom and equality cannot long be denied or suppressed. The stirring events now gripping Africa—the historic development in a non-violent manner in many sections of our own country—are inevitable steps in the historic march of progress. We are now witnessing the beginning of the end of color as a divisive force in society. At last the world will recognize only one race—the human race.

These great goals are attainable in our time, but only through the concerted efforts of the nations blessed with the power and resources to help less-developed areas of the world. They cannot be realized as long as any aggressor nation seeks to capitalize upon human misery by offering help only at the price of surrender. They cannot be achieved without peace and without security against the danger of annihilation. The great negative potential in world affairs today is war—atomic war or cold war, military war or economic war. That continuing threat to human survival and progress stems from one source and one source only: Soviet Russia.

Free World Record and Soviet

We Americans want peace. We want to be secure and prosperous. We seek no territorial conquest or aggrandizement of any sort. We do not aim to impose our economic or political system on any other country, small or large. We prize our freedom and we are willing to defend it and at any cost. And we will be happy to see all other peoples enjoying freedom, peace and prosperity. We are willing and able to help them share these benefits.

The record is clear. The American people have never hesitated to aid the people of other countries, regardless of their political

persuasion. The history of Soviet Russia provides a case in point. In Lenin's time, Soviet Russia paid glowing tribute to America's role in saving the Russian people in the terrible famine following the Communist revolution. We have provided generous assistance to other nations, whether Communist or free, whether in alliance with us or not. We have given our full share of sacrifice in two World Wars, and we have made peace without demanding or taking any spoils. The record is unchallengeable.

America has no aggressive designs, now or in the future, against Soviet Russia. No other free nation entertains such a foolhardy notion. If there can be any one certainty in international affairs today, it is this: that the free world is willing to live and let live.

Now, let us look at the Soviet record. During the last World War, it entered into a nefarious pact with Hitler to carve up Poland. It was not until Hitler turned against Russia and invaded it that the Communists opposed his aggression. If it had not been for our intervention in the war, Soviet Russia might have been utterly crushed. Since the end of the Second World War, Soviet Russia has repudiated every agreement with her former Allies. She seized and dragged behind the Iron Curtain nation after nation along her borders. She suppressed with brutal and overpowering force revolutions of the freedom-loving people of Hungary, Poland and East Germany.

The Kremlin aided and engineered the Communist conquest of China. It instigated and abetted the war in Korea. It planned and supported the capture of vast territories in Indo-China. It financed and fomented aggression and tension in the Near East. At the same time, Soviet Russia has carried on an unceasing campaign of subversion and hostile propaganda against freedom throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and here in our own country. Moscow invented and initiated the cold war. It was Soviet Russia that forced the first Berlin crisis which we overcame with the airlift. It was Soviet Russia that precipitated the new Berlin crisis to which the Summit Conference must now address itself.

There have been changes in the faces in the Kremlin, but not one scrap of evidence of any change in the fundamental Communist determination to dominate the entire world by every available method, even war. There have been changes in the Communist line, but not a single act of good faith. The Soviet's offer of peace co-existence rings hollow when Russia's entire national effort is concentrating in achieving superiority in aggressive military production. Khrushchev's sweeping proposals for world disarmament sound alarming rather than reassuring, when he refuses to allow adequate inspection behind the Iron Curtain to check on compliance.

The Soviet record is a record of deeds that cannot be justified in words.

The Soviet program of co-existence is a program of words that have never been made good by deeds.

Labor Knows Meaning of Communism

We in the trade-union movement are familiar with the hocus-pocus of the Communists' terminology. They speak in terms of a "people's democracy." They act in terms of ruthless dictatorship. Their system chains the farmer to the soil and freezes the worker to his assigned job. It robs the people of the fruits of their production and their basic liberties. It stifles freedom of conscience and the intellect. It concentrates total political power and economic power in the hands of a narrow dictatorship to which the people at large are enslaved. It takes no stock of either human rights or human life on the theory that the end justifies the means. Today it is desperately concentrating on the means of producing an end to freedom on earth.

America and the free world cannot afford to underestimate Soviet strength, military or economic, nor should we become overawed by that. We have what it takes, we can produce what it takes, to win the struggle for freedom. The greater danger is default, rather than defeat.

What is the basic issue between the two great powers, Soviet Russia and the United States? What is the fundamental difference in the military problem?

America's entire military effort in the past decade has been and still is strictly defensive. We are arming not to attack but merely to retaliate effectively if we are attacked. It is unthinkable, completely beyond the realm of possibility, that America should strike the first blow that might lead to a third World War.

All available evidence as to Soviet Russia's military activity points in the opposite direction. Communist power is geared primarily to attack. Its weapons are offensive rather than defensive.

That is true not only in a military sense but also of Soviet Russia's economic and diplomatic strategy. Khrushchev has publicly threatened to bury us. His propaganda machine has broadcast torrents of hate, abuse and provocation against the United States. In waging the cold war, his ambassadors and top lieutenants have taken advantage of every opportunity and every forum to insult and injure our country. Thus, even if we lean over backward to be tolerant, objective and understanding, we cannot escape the conclusion that Soviet Russia's overall policy toward America and the free world is built upon naked aggression.

How can we cope successfully with this aggressive attitude? How can we discourage the Soviet leaders in persisting in their belligerent course? How can we, above all, make certain that they will not plunge the world into a war of devastation? These are the overriding questions confronting leaders and the people of the free world.

Negotiate—But as Realists

We of American Labor favor taking every necessary, every practical and every safe step to prevent war. If war does come, no one will be spared. But the workers of the free world, not only because of their numbers, are bound to become the mass victims. The trade-union movement, therefore, firmly believes that our Government should negotiate with Soviet Russia at the Summit and at every other level.

But let us negotiate as realists!

Our country, together with the rest of the free world, can negotiate effectively and serve the cause of peace only if we are strong. If we hope to lead the way to security, we must lead from strength. Behind their front of bombast and truculence, the Communist leaders consider themselves the only true realists. They have nothing but contempt for our adherence to honor, good faith and moral principles. They respect only one thing: strength.

The great task and responsibility of our leaders at the conference table will be to convince the Communist leaders that we have the determination, the resources and power to defeat any aggressor. They must serve notice on Khrushchev, once and for all, that the free world will proceed, at whatever costs, to achieve overwhelming superiority, militarily, economically and technologically in order to preserve world peace and human freedom. Only then will the danger of aggression and war be reduced, and the prospects for peace, freedom and security be improved. Only thus it will be possible to prevail upon the Soviet regime to accept an effective and enforceable disarmament program.

If, on the other hand, the free nations begin to retreat at the Summit conference on the future of Berlin, or on any other major issue, it will be interpreted by the Communists as a sign of weakness. It will merely sharpen their appetite for further conquests. Appeasement of Khrushchev at the Summit will prove just as disastrous for the cause of peace and freedom as was the appeasement of Hitler at Munich in 1938.

The negotiators for the free world, we are confident, will be alert to the manifest and ever-present danger. Experience has taught us that we cannot lend credence to Soviet promises without the collateral of actual deeds. We have seen too many

switches from belligerence to cordiality and back again to place any reliance on the mere pretense of friendship. This time, we insist on proof. No good cause would be served by the issuance of official communiques from the Summit, paying lip service in pious platitudes to the mutual desire of all the nations for the preservation of peace.

Tell the People the Truth

It is time for the leaders of the world to tell the honest truth to the people of the world, no matter how painful it may be. The appearance of harmony cannot be accepted at this late date as an adequate substitute for actual progress toward agreement in substance. Smiling photographs and public handshakes can perpetuate a monstrous fraud if they do not indicate anything deeper than surface politeness. Such political circuses are bound to raise false hopes and relax our guard when we can least afford such self-deception.

It would be naive for us to expect too much too soon from the resumption of top-level talks. There is no magic formula in sight for the immediate solution of the major problems that beset the world. The best we can hope for is a gradual subsiding of international tensions through a step-by-step program of acts of good faith by both sides. The road to peace will be an uphill climb all the way.

Labor's Proposed Program

In the final analysis, we must rely primarily on our own effort. We cannot bank on any Soviet concessions given in false coin. With this uppermost in mind, the American trade-union movement earnestly recommends the following specific program:

1. Our country and the free world must acquire adequate military strength to deter and, if necessary, to defeat any aggressor. What we need, not what it costs, must be the determining factor.

2. NATO must be revitalized and broadened into an organization for promoting effective economic, scientific and cultural, as well as military, cooperation among its member states.

3. America should exert stronger leadership in an international program to promote peaceful uses of atomic energy, harnessed to modern industrial techniques.

4. Colonialism must be systematically eliminated and the nations thus gaining independence assisted in raising the living standards of their people through industrial and agricultural development. Only an unceasing struggle against racial discrimination in the United States will enable our country, as a democracy with anti-colonialist traditions, to win the full trust

and support of the captive peoples of Africa, Asia and Europe.

5. Every effort must be made to secure even limited reduction of armament, provided effective international inspection is guaranteed. Our goal should be the banning of military atomic tests, an end to production of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and the genuine reduction of land, sea and air forces.

6. The U.N. should be strengthened as an instrument of world peace, and empowered to implement its decision on vital international problems.

7. Under U.N. supervision, free elections should be held in every area or territory in dispute, in Asia and Africa, as well as in Europe, to settle existing problems peacefully, democratically and finally. This is the only just and practical method for reunification of Germany and, thereby, the solution of the Berlin problem.

8. It is most urgent that America cement closer ties with our Latin American neighbors, on the basis of equality. By helping to promote economic development and to raise living standards, we can strengthen democratic forces, discourage dictatorships, and unite the continent as a more effective stronghold of peace, freedom and well-being.

9. Our Government together with private industry should pursue a clearcut policy of stepped-up economic growth. Only thus can we meet the needs of the defense program and our increasing population. Only thus can we carry out our obligations to preserve peace and promote a better way of life for mankind.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, President Meany, for the most enlightening and instructive remarks to the members of our conference this morning. You have made a most valuable contribution to our conference.

Now, the members of the conference may have an opportunity to comment on the views expressed by President Meany, and if you wish you may ask some questions. The Chair will recognize any delegate that wishes to comment.

Vice President Jim Carey.

JAMES B. CAREY

MR. CAREY: Mr. Chairman, President Meany, distinguished guests, fellow officers and the other leaders of American labor:

We are gathered here, in one sense, as a group that has demonstrated talent in the field of negotiations. We found it necessary to organize and to negotiate with employers, even though

we were aware that at the first opportunity some of those employers would seek to break the agreements. They made it difficult to arrive at agreements and to execute them; but they gave us experience in administering agreements.

We are part of a nation that celebrates—as we do today in this Conference—our emergence from colonial status. We have respect for our mother country and we have respect for the countries from which, in the days of the American Revolution, our nation received aid, countries like France. That does not necessarily make us so obligated to England or to France that we do not recognize our obligation to help the oppressed people of those countries and those peoples emerging from a state of colonialism in Asia and Africa—or to help those people in South America seeking the democracy they have long aspired to.

Our nation, under its present budget, will expend a tremendous amount of funds for defense purposes. In fact, the majority of our expenditures by the Federal Government will be for that purpose, about \$45 billion.

Compare that expenditure, if you will, with the Federal expenditure for labor, welfare and education of \$4,700,000,000. Add to that an expenditure of \$5 billion for Veterans Services and Benefits. But let us also remember the suppression of social and political gains, based on the idea that any little wage increase or an increase in the coverage of the Federal minimum wage will be inflationary; likewise Social Security.

All these are claimed to be inflationary in the face of the huge inflationary expenditure of \$45 to \$50 billion for defense purposes.

Emerging Nations Need Our Aid

But we have countries emerging in Africa as well as Asia, and situations in South America, which deserve the attention and help of this nation—not solely because it must be done as an off-set to the Communist threat but because of the demonstrable need of these countries in their infancy and their difficulty in getting aid. And the kind of aid they desperately need is the kind of aid that we're particularly good at, aid of an economic nature.

I ask that we recognize that the threat today is not just that of the Soviet Union. Russia, too, has fears. Imagine with France now developing atomic weapons, Germany, Western Germany, being given atomic weapons. The Soviet Union may fear that it is necessary that Communist China get them, even Poland or Eastern Germany. Then the threat develops. Since these atomic weapons can operate in several directions, quite possibly the Soviet Union should fear the people of Poland getting atomic weapons, or the people of Eastern Germany, or Communist

China; just as we have fears that France, now developing atomic weapons, might use them in suppressing the emergence of peoples in areas of Africa.

I do not think that enlarging our disbursements for atomic weapons, or providing those atomic weapons even to our allies, is the best way of assuring peace. I think we have to expand our activities, as President Meany put it, in the fields of assisting those emerging countries to develop their freedom and democracy. For the aid that France gave us in our Revolutionary days, I think we owe an obligation of freedom—freedom of the people—to the subject people of France. And we owe particular obligations to our Good Neighbors to the South.

I recognize that our Government is ill-equipped to engage in negotiations with the Soviet Union. It is unfortunate that some of the people here in this room will not participate with Eisenhower and others in the Summit Meeting. A great number of people in this nation now recognize that you can't get properly equipped for negotiations on a golf course in Augusta, Ga.; and you cannot, moreover, get particularly equipped to defend democracy if the golf course is a segregated golf course. But I respect Eisenhower for interrupting his golf game to come up and throw out the first ball at the opening game in Washington, and then fly back to the golf course in Georgia.

I vigorously support the idea of labor holding such Conferences as this, and especially the idea of labor making demands upon its government to provide labor a voice where that voice will count; and I am thinking particularly about labor's limited participation in our delegations to the United Nations and the limitations imposed upon labor on a recent official junket to South America.

Yet I hope that this labor movement will demand and receive an adequate voice in areas where decisions affecting labor and working people are made—in the areas of government and in areas of our relations with other nations of the world through the United Nations.

When I consider the resources made available to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, I wonder whether we are doing all we can to help in developing freedom, and to carry on a war against misery and sickness. I wonder, too, whether we cannot find ways of insisting that the people of this nation be better informed about these affairs and about the important decision they have such a tremendous stake in.

Mr. Chairman, I hope our speakers and the discussions will be carefully listened to not only by the delegates and by union members wherever the printed word reaches, but also by officials of our Government. It is important that the Government listen,

because the labor peoples of the world are the ones who pay a terribly high price when representatives of Government make mistakes.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, Brother Carey. Any other delegate? Any further comment?

MR. HARTNETT: Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: State your name, please.

MR. HARTNETT: Secretary-Treasurer Hartnett of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: All right, Brother Hartnett.

AL HARTNETT

MR. HARTNETT: Mr. Chairman, I would like first of all to offer what I think is probably a typographical correction in the speech made by President Meany. There is at least one sentence in there which can be interpreted to indicate that we are nothing but a bunch of defeatist people who have already sealed our own doom. That sentence which reads on page 4 of the printed copy: "But the workers of the free world not only because of their numbers are bound to become mass victims," I'd like to suggest that perhaps we ought to make it apparent and clear that we believe that all of the workers of the world can become victims and not just the workers of the free world.

Now the second thing I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, is that I feel it is an excellent program. I think, however, that we can add one ingredient to make it go as far as it ought to go. Before suggesting the ingredient I would like to propose—I make it clear that I don't feel I have to defend myself against any possibility that people might think I am sympathetic to the Communists but I do make it plainly apparent that I believe we cannot ignore the existence of the Communist forces of the world. I believe we must recognize by looking at the past sometime that the Communists are here and are probably going to be here for sometime to come in the governments of the world. I believe that someday we will have to learn to live together. Likewise, I believe that we will learn to live together more quickly by association one with each other and I would like to see included as part of this program the suggestion that we engage in cultural and other types of exchanges between our people so that some kind of a contribution can be made to understanding of the needs of our people. My own feelings are that all too frequently a bad image of America is permitted to grow up in the Communist countries of the world as well as in some others. This is made

obvious and apparent, I think, probably because of the kinds of people who are turned loose on the Continent of Europe, or some other continents which become the representative picture of America as these people see it. I believe they need to see American workers. I believe that they need to see the average American family. I believe in seeing it they might accept it. I think that being accepted each of us by the other that we will have substantially contributed to a decline in the tensions that surround the world today. So I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that we ought to think positively about including in our program suggestions for exchange on a constructive basis—not for purposes of infiltration—not for purposes of subversion, but for the purpose of building a better friendship between the people of the free world and the people presently behind the Iron Curtain.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, Brother Hartnett. Any further comment? Any questions? President Meany.

GEORGE MEANY

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to comment briefly on the question of cultural exchanges. This, of course, is a topic of conversation and has been for some time. Numerous groups representing the arts and some business people have accepted this idea of cultural exchanges. However, I would like to point out the position that we in the trade union movement have taken.

We have been associated with other free trade unions of the world for more than half a century. We associated ourselves with them on the basis of two factors: one, the traditional sympathy of workers all over the world for each other as workers, the concern of American workers in the problems of other workers in other parts of the world; and secondly, we associated ourselves with them because we felt that we and they had something to gain from that association, that if we could raise the level of the standards of life of workers of other parts of the world, it would, in a sense, be making secure the gains or achievements we have made in advancing our standards of life.

In 1914, at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Samuel Gompers introduced a resolution under his own name. It was Resolution No. 1. It was a very unusual procedure for the President of the American Federation of Labor to introduce a resolution. However, he did. This was just about 60 days after the start of World War I. In that resolution he pointed out the community of interest of workers all over the world. He pointed out that wars sprung in many cases from the fact that there were different conditions of life, that there were some people who had nothing while other people had a great deal, and it was a fact that the

people who had nothing coveted a better life and coveted perhaps some of the territory of other people who they felt were better off.

He suggested in that resolution that the war, even though it was then only two months old, would one day end and that a peace conference was inevitable—whenever the end came. He proposed that at the peace conference, machinery be established for an international organization dedicated to the idea of raising the living standards of the common people of all nations. As a result of that resolution, in 1920 or in late 1919, at the Peace Conference of Versailles, some machinery was established by the peace treaty. In 1920, a few months later, in the city of Washington, the International Labor Organization came into being. That organization, as you know, is the ILO. It is still alive, and it is dedicated to the idea of a community of interest between workers all over the world.

So we have an obligation to workers—those behind the Iron Curtain as well as those outside the Iron Curtain. Today, we have millions of our former friends—people whom we know and with whom we were associated in international affairs, workers whom we helped and with whom we conferred and whom we looked upon as brothers who are now prisoners of a vicious dictatorship. When we think in terms of cultural exchanges, this is one factor that enters into our minds. These people like all humans never give up hope. They hope some day to be free, and they look to the workers of the United States of America as the leaders in the world of free labor to help them in some way. We get into these countries communications; we get literature to them to let them know what American labor is doing, what it is saying, resolutions that are passed, and so on and so forth.

So when we think in terms of cultural exchanges, we must of necessity think how they would feel if we decided to fraternize and “socialize” with their captors, with their oppressors, with their jailers, if you please.

(Applause.)

It is all very well for the bankers and the bankers’ associations and the other business associations, but we have a special responsibility in this field because we cannot plead ignorance. We know the situation.

With Whom Could America Talk?

Then, of course, there is another question: When you fraternize, when you exchange on a so-called cultural level, you must have someone to talk to. We have no objection to our Government talking to the Government of the Soviet Union. We hope that they never stop talking, because if they stop talking, maybe we will be in for something worse. It would be suicidal, knowing the possibilities of atomic warfare, knowing the capabilities

of both sides in terms of human destruction, to advocate that our Government stop talking to the Soviet Union, but *that is government-to-government*.

We hold to the theory that there are no representatives of trade unions in the Soviet Union—only representatives of Government.

(Applause.)

And the officers of the so-called trade unions in the Soviet Union represent the Government. The trade unions are not what we think of as trade unions. They are instrumentalities of the Government. They tell the worker how much he is to turn out for a day’s production; they tell him where he is going to live. They tell him where he is to go on his vacation, if he gets a vacation; and they tell him where he works, he has no right to change his job. So the people, who have the title of officers of these “trade unions” are not trade unionists in our sense of the word; they are representatives of government. And if they want to come here, let them talk to representatives of our Government; they are not going to talk to me.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, President Meany. Any further comments? Very well, we will go on with the conference. You want to have a few minutes. Our 30 minutes are up.

NELSON COX

MR. COX: Mr. Chairman, President Meany, fellow seekers of peace:

I believe, as far as I know, that I am the only Canadian here in this hall. I have been assigned by my international union to attend this conference and to learn what I could from you, our American cousins, and if I may, leave with you the opinions of Canadians in respect to matters of world peace.

I deem this a great honor to be here, when so many people will leave their homes and come to a gathering such as this to discuss this very, very important question, the all-important question.

I believe that I would be remiss if I did not endeavor to convey to you the attitude and opinions of Canadians as I know them to exist throughout at least the trade union movement, which is the great spokesman today for peoples all over the world. The opinion of Canadians is just simply this, fellow trade unionists, that we as trade unionists, that our great institution, that of the trade union movement, has grown beyond its original concepts. We have grown, the real, thinking people of the world. Not any

more do we just merely confine ourselves, may we confine ourselves, to speak of matters economic solely, but of all these things that pertain to the survival of mankind, the matter of peace.

I endorse most heartily the sentiments expressed by President Meany this morning, in that you and I as individuals must consider all matters as they pertain to the things necessary to be done to promote world peace; that your opinion, that my opinion, that your action and my individual action, is the all important action that can be taken, because what you and I do and what you and I think, in the final analysis, multiplied by all of those in a similar position, finally represents that great media, that great weight which finally will be the answer to Communism, to all the evil establishments that are present throughout the world.

One other point, I also leave with you, is (I believe it is your thought, too)—that the great privileges that are ours, the wheat and minerals of the world that the good Lord has seen fit to place on our portion of the earth, do not belong to us; they belong to all men everywhere. We hold the bridge to life. We have need to fear the atomic bomb, but we have the truth, and the great truth will be sufficient. I thank you fellow delegates.

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: You have just heard from Brother Nelson Cox, from the Barbers' International Union. He is the representative of that union to this conference and he comes to us from Canada. Thank you very much, Brother Cox.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Before presenting the next speaker to our conference, I want to take just a moment to introduce a distinguished visitor that we have in attendance at our conference: the president of the International Confederation of Trade Unions, who has honored us by coming to our conference this morning, Mr. Arne Geijer, president of the International Confederation of Trade Unions.

(Applause.)

MR. GEIJER: President Meany and fellow delegates: It is a great honor for me to be here this morning and to listen to the discussions about the world problems. I appreciate it very much, and I bring to you the best regards from the great organization, the I.C.F.T.U.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Now, I want to present the next speaker. He comes to us after a long, long period of experience in the international field. He has written extensively on international problems, and he has taught at a lot of universities on

world problems. He has been a professor of history at Columbia University for some 30 years.

Professor Tannenbaum, who will now address you, has also personally had the opportunity to observe at firsthand, because of his world-wide travel, many of the problems in the international field. He has traveled extensively in Latin America. He has written several books on the various phases of world affairs, and this continent.

So, I take great pleasure in presenting this distinguished teacher and this great American to our conference, who will now address you on "Inter-American Unity and World Freedom." Professor Frank Tannenbaum.

PROF. FRANK TANNENBAUM

"Inter-American Unity and World Freedom"

MR. TANNENBAUM: Mr. Chairman, President Meany, members of the American trade union movement. I consider it a great privilege to be here today, and it is a long time since I have seen so many labor people together in one room. The last time was in 1924 at the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor. I remember seeing Sam Gompers presiding over that meeting. I recall that as one of the most interesting experiences of my life.

I have a written speech, which I am going to try to read. I don't read very well, so if I stumble in the middle, you will forgive me. If I stumble too much, I will stop reading and just talk.

There are many good reasons why the United States and Latin America should live at ease and comfort with each other. They are new nations in the "new world." They were founded at great hazard by European conquerors and immigrants who abandoned their old homes for good because here they thought to find a new way to heaven on a new earth.

The Europeans who settled this hemisphere had much in common. They tore up the roots of their old tradition to start a new life in the wilderness, jungle, mountain and desert that needed taming before it could be lived in.

All Americans had to make their peace with the Indian, and in more than one sense, the task remains unfinished. So, too, they had to salve their conscience about Negroes they enslaved and mistreated, and this story also remains unfinished. But the presence of the Indian and the African has so deeply influenced American experience that all of the people of this hemisphere are different from those they left behind in the old world.

It is impossible to think of the culture either of North or South

America stripped of the deep imprint made by Indian and African peoples. All of this we have in common. But we have also shared the adventure of occupying a new continent, of wide empty lands stretching to the end of the horizon, of the pioneer, the cowboy and the rancher. American experience, different as it may have been, has a basic identity.

All of our nations were created by the people themselves as a deliberate act of will. All of them began in a revolution against a king in Europe; all of our great national heroes are rebels against a foreign ruler. Washington, Bolivar, San Martin, Father Hidalgo each in his own way helped shape a world where the individual was a citizen of a nation rather than a subject of a king. In all of this there is an emphasis upon the idea of the equality of nations in the new world and in spite of the way the Indian and Negro were treated, an emphasis upon individual freedom and human dignity.

From the earliest day, our republics were committed through constitutional sanction to the defense of human rights and individual freedom, and because man is blind to his own failings and contradictions, it was possible to lay down one's life for independence and liberty and stand by injustice to the Indian and slavery for the Negro. But the inner impulse was for equality of states, for representative government, for a federalism that would guarantee to each state its territorial security for mutual defense and for national sovereignty. Taken in the large, America, when compared to Europe, has been a peaceful part of the world.

Serious wars between nations have been few and the impulse for some sort of intercontinental agency to preserve the peace and defend the integrity of nations goes back to the days of the independence movement, when Bolivar called the first Inter-American Congress in Panama in 1826. The organization of American states, whose charter was finally drawn up in 1948 in Bogota, has a long history. The earlier gatherings from 1890 when the Pan American Union was formed to those of 1933 in Montevideo, 1936 in Buenos Aires, where the principle of non-intervention was adopted, and 1947 in Rio de Janeiro, were all preparatory to the confirming of a fully fledged regional system of national defense, territorial integrity, political equality and independent sovereignty.

States Are Politically Equal

The doctrine of non-intervention precludes interference in the internal and external affairs of any nation singly or collectively for any reason whatsoever. Only in case of invasion from outside or from inside the hemisphere, or the danger of war or the threat of an American nation falling under the control of inter-

national Communism can collective intervention be called into being. The American nations have, therefore, a regional "federation" dedicated to mutual security, political equality, territorial integrity and freedom from intervention.

The charter of the O.A.S., the Organization of American States, also pledges the organization to the advancement of representative democracy and a special treaty commits the various states to maintain the rights and dignity of man. In its deliberations, the O.A.S. knows of no great powers ensconced in a security council. Haiti is politically equal to Brazil or Ecuador or to the United States. This may seem unrealistic. But in the growth of a political tradition it may be as important as the early insistence upon the political equality of Delaware and Pennsylvania in our own system, for the concept of the coordinate state is a preliminary to any working and enduring federal system, no matter how tenuous it may be.

If the Western Hemisphere is to have a mutual security system, it can surely rest only on the sense of equal identity of all the nations in America. The system may contain strong and weak powers, rich and poor nations, but it cannot contain a hierarchy of political rights and privileges. There can be no nation greater and others lesser in dignity, or in rights. In securing organizations of sovereign states, each is coordinate with the others. That is the only condition on which they can perceive a common interest and recognize a common destiny.

Politically, the United States and Latin America have gone a long way to fulfill an aged-old dream: that the strong and the weak nations may abide in peace and without fear. Ours is the oldest international system in existence and has shown itself to be increasingly effective. The difficulties that confront the United States and Latin America are of a different order. They are economic and social, and a failure of leadership on both sides of the border. It is difficult to assume and to go on believing that mutual confidence and common ends can continue to exist between the United States and Latin America, when the economic gap between them is so wide that it seems unreal.

Income Gap Widening

Whatever the figures mean—I must say I am not sure I know what they mean—they are stated as follows: the average annual income in the United States is \$2,200 per person, while in Latin America it is \$200 per person. Now whatever these figures mean, it is a difference between \$2,200 and \$200. And to all intents and purposes, this gap is widening. The rate of growth of the economy in the North is such that the people in the South, even if their real income is increasing, are still relatively poorer than they were before. This is a general statement for many nations.

There are exceptions: Venezuela, Argentina, Cuba and perhaps others. But for the area as a whole, the general proposition remains true. Nor is there an easy way out of this dilemma. The population in Latin America is growing faster seemingly than in any other part of the world. It is doubling every 30 years, and in some countries, Mexico among them, every 20 or 25 years. At the present rate of growth, Latin America will have about 300,000,000 people in 1980 and 500,000,000 in the year 2000. This is a forecast and not a guess. And the population south of the border will be larger than that of the United States and Canada combined.

The area of Latin America would have to increase its real income by a hundred percent, and some countries by more than a hundred percent, every 30 years, to remain as poor as it is now. And for some parts of Latin America, it will prove difficult not to fall into greater poverty with the passing years. A recent study competently done and published locally suggests that in Chile—and I want you to listen to this—the “average consumption per person was about 10 percent lower in 1958 than six years ago,” and that at best “it is unlikely” that per capita consumption could catch up with what it had been in 1952-1953 before 1965.

What I am going to say next, comes from another source. It comes from U.N. publications. Taken as a whole, food production and food consumption per capita in Latin America are below pre-war levels, and undernourishment prevails in many places.

The Education Situation

If the picture is bleak on the economic side, it is equally so socially. One or two examples will have to do. About half of the children of school age in Latin America—in some countries less, in some more than half—do not go to school because there are no schools for them. Of those that enter school, about half drop out by the end of the first year.

Most of the children stop going to school by the third year—at best only about five percent of those entering the first grade—and this is an overstatement, I might say—complete the primary school cycle. The other example I cite is this, that in all the large cities, Caracas, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and so on, there are hundreds of thousands of people living in shanty town. Two hundred thousand in Caracas according to President Betancourt—without running water, sanitation, electric lights or schooling. Or if you prefer, with such an insufficiency of these as to make the situation deplorable from the point of view of the public and pitiful individually.

Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to explain why

there is so much misunderstanding between Latin America and ourselves. For in their innocence, or if you prefer their malice, some of their leaders blame us for their poverty and lack of growth. While some of our leaders are either indifferent, unaware or, on occasion, smug about the situation, and explain it all by the presumed laziness, if not by the natural inferiority of the peoples of Latin America. Clearly, neither side has been prepared to face and deal with reality.

Latin Americans have a completely distorted image of the United States. They think of this country as they knew it in 1900 or 1910. They remember the days of the “Big Stick,” and of the many interventions in the Caribbean and Central America. This image of the United States has been strengthened in recent years by our tolerance of Latin America dictatorships. I have said tolerance rather than support which Latin Americans declare it to be. At a public meeting some years ago I rose in opposition to the bitter attacks against the United States and said, that so far as I knew, no Latin American dictator had been born in Washington. I was immediately put in my place by a very eloquent speaker, I may say, and was told that if they weren't born there, that was where they were baptized.

Whatever the reasons, and they are not simple, the fact remains that the vast majority of Latin Americans believe that we favored the dictators. Certainly some of our ambassadors seemed to have made it a point to hobnob in public with the dictators, when they and the rest of the world knew of the horrors and cruelties that were being committed by their governments.

I point now to what happened in Cuba during the Batista regime. A professor in the University of Havana said to me: “You know, in the last two years, they” (the Batista officials)—I am asking you to listen to this because this is painful—“killed 100 of my students and tortured half of them.”

And recently a dozen journalists from Venezuela were denouncing the United States for going out of its way to decorate Perez Jimenez, the dictator of Venezuela, while some of them were in prison and while some of them were being physically abused.

It almost sounded as if they believed that our Government decorated Perez Jimenez just because he imprisoned and tortured them. The American image gets itself distorted when things like this can be said or even thought.

We Help Equip the Armies

This question of dictatorship has been complicated by our policy of equipping the armies of Latin America with modern

arms, with tanks for Batista, for instance. Whatever the good reasons we had for doing this, the effect has been to strengthen the local armies and to freeze them on the governments. Nobody can now overthrow the president except the army, which means that no one can become president unless he is acceptable to the army. It also means that what local opposition there might have been to keep a government from becoming too oppressive has now become impotent. The locality can do nothing against the newly equipped army. We have, in fact, helped to saddle the military upon Latin American governments, and it will not be easy to change our policy or to lessen the great burdens of maintaining a large military establishment out of a poor budget.

The liberals in Latin America used to argue that the United States was, in fact, arming its enemies, for the only real friends of American democracy are those who believe in democratic institutions. We were told many times that strengthening the armies in Latin America was a political error and that it would identify us with the enemies of democracy and with opponents of freedom. Certain policies we have pursued in the best of faith have not improved our image, and those who have been injured have long memories.

Latin Americans still remember the exuberant days after the Spanish-American War, when the air was filled with talk of American expansion. They also remember the days when our publicists proclaimed doctrines of "survival of the fit" that imputed the misfortune of poverty, unemployment, illness and old age to those who suffered because they were weak and unworthy of survival.

Latins Unaware of U.S. Social Change

Unfortunately, Latin Americans have not learned of the great revolution that followed in the wake of the New Deal. They have not learned to understand what is perhaps the greatest political revolution in our time: an egalitarian society where individual freedom and human dignity remain undiminished.

Nor have they learned of the wide Social Security systems, which protect the individual against the worst effects of our industrial society, nor of the many controls over industry and finance that attempt to defend the individual against the implicit indifference to human values of large organizations.

Nor do they know of the important influence of our large trade union movement. They still picture us as a Shylock armed to exploit his neighbors without mercy and without pity. Nor have we helped them to a better understanding of the United States.

It is perhaps not unkind to say that our official or private spokesmen in Latin America talk the language of Adam Smith

and Ricardo dressed in the style of the best advertising firms on Madison Avenue. To the Latin Americans, we are made to stand for an absolute individualism, for an absolute competitive free-enterprise system, as if there were no trade unions, no Social Security, no Food and Drug Act, no Security Exchange Commission. If the Latin Americans have a false image of the United States, it is partly due to the failure of those who talk for us to appreciate the change which has been wrought in the United States and to find words to express it.

But the Latin American intellectuals who do most of the image forming have a false view, not only of the United States but present a perverted picture of their own present state of culture and institutional development. They talk among themselves and to us as if they spoke for a free society of equal men, as if theirs was a purely humanistic world faced by a materially driven civilization and indifferent to human values.

They are apparently unaware of the *hacienda* system, where men are still sold with the land, of the great wealth and poverty with inadequate taxation for capital development, of ignorance and poverty, which in part at least is the result of failure of private and public conscience. They seem unaware of political corruption, nepotism and subversion of public interest to private and family ends.

In part, it will be seen, our difficulties lie in our failure to accept reality as it is and in our persistence in talking to each other about ourselves in ways that bespeak an image of the United States and Latin America that does not exist. Getting around the false image is part of the problem. The rest is developing a whole series of policies that would give Latin Americans the prospect of narrowing the gap economically and socially between themselves and the people of the United States. There are many specific projects that suggest themselves.

"Marshall Plan" for Latin America

These can best be put together under a single rubric such as "a Marshall Plan" for Latin America. Such a program would be more difficult to carry out in the southern part of the hemisphere than it was in Europe, for socially and politically, these countries are less able to accept or use the help they cry for.

One aspect of this is their complete distortion of the role of private investment in a developing economy. A great deal of social change is a preliminary to the development of representative democracy and industrialism in Latin America. That, in fact, is the dilemma of the United States, and it is very real. Our help requires and will stimulate profound social change. Any neither we nor the governments of Latin America are prepared to accept the impending change.

I will leave the paper for a moment and just say: we don't realize it ourselves, but we, the American people and the United States, are the most revolutionary force in the world. Everything that we do and the way we are makes people want a better life and more goods. They want the automobiles and the television we tell them about, and the bathrooms, the things you see in every paper and when you pick up in the mass media, in every magazine we distribute.

So, we are as much responsible—we are more responsible—than perhaps any other influences in the world for making people in Latin America, and I think it is true in other parts of the world, discontented with their present life. We stimulate the changes in social structure without intending to. Neither we nor the governments of Latin America are prepared to accept the impending change. I would be inclined to guess—nobody knows about things of this sort—I would be inclined to guess, in the next 25 years, we are going to witness a great social change in Latin America. We have got to learn to live with it. For unfortunately we are wedded to the status quo. So in their majority are the governments of Latin America. And yet the status quo if taken literally would make any alternation impossible and provide no remedy for the poverty and social deficiency which is preliminary to mutual confidence between the United States and Latin America.

Our problem is to find a way for the Latin American people to identify us with their aspirations for a better life. The task of the local leadership is to prepare the ground for the needed changes. A differently oriented leadership is required at both ends, and that is most difficult to find.

But when we consider that it has been possible in this hemisphere to work out a mutual security system while preserving the sovereignty of the individual nations, it would seem possible to face up to the task of dealing with the economic and social difficulties so as to make the system effective and working. Thank you.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you very much, Professor Tannenbaum. You, too, have made a splendid contribution to our conference. The Chair now wants to call on Serafino Romualdi for a few remarks on Latin America.

SERAFINO ROMUALDI

MR. ROMUALDI: Mr. Chairman, President Meany, Professor Frank Tannenbaum and delegates:

I am grateful for this opportunity to add a few comments to the analysis of Professor Tannenbaum of the factors that tend

to unite and the factors that tend to divide the countries of the Western Hemisphere. I would like to emphasize that we unquestionably consider "inter-American unity and world freedom" as essential, as was so properly indicated in the title of this topic that we are discussing now.

What is today, right now, the greatest threat against inter-American unity? In my opinion the greatest threat today comes from the international Communist conspiracy directed from Moscow, which is taking advantage of the political unrest in Latin America, of the economic tragedy which was so graphically described by our speaker just a few moments ago.

The extent of the Communist threat in Latin America is not realized here in the United States. I want to point out on the last page of the AFL-CIO "Free Trade Union News," which has been distributed this morning to the delegates, an article by John Merritt. I don't know the author, but I would like to say it is a most realistic description of what is going to happen in Latin America unless the Communist threat is stopped as soon as possible by the collective action of the American family of nations. This threat is all the greater because political instability, economic discontent and erupting nationalistic aspirations are offering the Communists a favorable climate in which to operate. In other words, Communism is adding fuel to a smoldering fire.

U.S. Must Help Achieve Better Life

The United States must help satisfy the long frustrated aspirations of the Latin American workers, white-collar employees and intellectuals for a better economic life. They want, as attainable goals in our time, a standard of living comparable to the one prevailing in the industrially advanced countries of the free world.

It was pointed out by the speaker, but it is not realized here in the United States that in the last ten years in Latin America workers, peasants and white-collar employees have all suffered a reduction in their standard of living because of inflation. Their pay envelope is smaller now than it used to be. Their purchasing power is less. Even our own trade unionists in the United States seem unaware of the fact that the working people in Latin America never have received wages and salaries that would permit even a very small percentage of saving. The barely subsistence wage is the rule.

The Communists are aware of the fact that a successful effort by Latin American countries, aided by the United States in bringing about a substantial increase in the standard of living, will end their chance to extend their influence and role. I am, therefore, in agreement with the proposal advanced by Professor

Tannenbaum for a sort of Marshall Plan for Latin America. This has been recommended by a number of leading democratic statesmen in the Western Hemisphere.

In order to prevent the success of any measure for economic recovery, the Communists concentrate on the political front. They try to smash the inter-American system as represented by the Organization of American States. They try to divide the United States from Latin America. They devise all sorts of slogans. History is falsified. Old wounds are being re-opened. The passion of economic nationalism is being nursed. The youth is brainwashed. In other words, everything that could divide the United States from Latin America is being promoted by the Communists.

A number of countries in Central and South America have obviously been selected by the international Communist conspiracy directed from Moscow for a concentrated drive of infiltration with the hope of duplicating there the events now taking place in Cuba. They are aided in this attempt by unlimited financial resources, fanatical manpower and the deplorable economic conditions of the wage earners, which make them susceptible to any type of demagogic, messianic propaganda.

The example of Castro's revolution with its repudiation of inter-American treaties may act as a sort of contagious disease. In some Latin American countries people are beginning to say, "Let's do in our country what is being done in Cuba."

Defend Democratic Regimes

I believe that we have an interest that our Government adopt a more militant policy in defense of the democratic regimes. But it seems that we don't have a strategy. My friends, this has been admitted time and time again.

I was speaking in the University of Caracas in 1958. The chairman of the meeting was Dr. Uslar Pietri, my friend and your friend, Professor Tannenbaum. Our audience was a group of students. One of them raised the issue of the United States giving a medal to Venezuelan Dictator Perez Jimenez. I told him that it was a stupid act on our part to have given such a medal. However, I explained that this gesture, made after the Caracas Conference of the Organization of American States, was more or less of a protocol nature. In fact, 14 other Latin American countries, including Guatemala, which at that time was under Arbenz, gave Perez Jimenez a medal. Yet nobody seems to criticize the action of the Latin American governments.

At the same time, our Government, mainly through the effort and insistence of organized labor, without exception refused to accede to the demands of the Venezuelan dictatorship that we

expel from this country the democratic leader, Romulo Betan-court, who was living in our midst as a political refugee.

About three years ago, the government in Caracas again asked the United States to deny the right of asylum to the Venezuelan democratic leaders. Our Government refused. I believe this ought to be put in balance. We did some stupid things but we also did some good. We protected the right of asylum for the democratic leaders.

In conclusion, I believe that we must strengthen the Organization of American States and support the principle of collective intervention to protect human rights, civil liberties and representative democracy. We must strengthen the Organization of American States in their efforts to isolate the threat that now comes from Cuba and fight back the menace that threatens the Caribbean Area and perhaps the whole of Latin America.

Political Prisoners Still Held

The Inter-American Peace Committee, which was charged at last year's meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Santiago, Chile, with the task of looking into the violation of human rights in the Caribbean area, has made public its first report which calls for the liberation of all political prisoners. Although no countries are named, it is a fact that political prisoners do exist in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Haiti and Cuba.

This first report was issued after having 80 hearings at which people from different parts of Latin America and the United States had a chance and opportunity to testify.

I think the United States ought to be encouraged to take the lead, as the AFL-CIO has suggested in many official pronouncements, in presenting a plan for strengthening representative democracy.

At the last convention and previous meetings of the AFL-CIO, we asked our country to take the lead in promoting and strengthening democracy in the Western Hemisphere. If we do this, I believe we can save inter-American unity. Inter-American unity will become a tremendous factor in the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism.

The battle to save inter-American unity must be waged and won simultaneously on the economic and political fronts. We must satisfy the hunger for bread and also the hunger for freedom. Thank you.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you very much for your contribution to the conference. Any further comment? State your name, please.

VICTOR REUTHER

MR. REUTHER: Victor Reuther of the United Auto Workers. Brother Chairman and fellow delegates:

I think it would be a tragic mistake if we become victims of oversimplified slogans, which do not offer a hope of bringing us nearer to resolving the tensions in the world. If we can't have a clearer vision of the problems that confront us in our own backyard in the Western Hemisphere, how can we presume to bring reason to bear in the more distant parts of the world?

I hold it is an oversimplification to attribute all of the current evils in Central and Latin America to the Communist conspiracy. True, Communists are eager to fish in troubled waters and stir them up, and also where they may be placid, but the problems that plague us in Central and Latin America pre-date the Russian revolution and to a large extent are of our own making. When I say our own making, I mean those who have presumed to speak in our behalf. The record of the United Fruit Company and its dealings in the banana republics has contributed immeasurably to this distorted view of what America is and what it stands for.

We have to live that down. All too often our spokesmen, our representatives in distant parts of the world have been those who have been obsessed with trade and trade advantages and not in presenting a balanced view of America.

Our country has been born in revolution, and therefore when revolutions of the same character have their beginnings in other parts of the world, as a nation we are more frightened of them than we are understanding of them. All too frequently we are cast in the light of trying to hold back or prevent these revolutionary developments instead of giving democratic and positive leadership to them. We have the right to expect this from our country, which had its birth in its revolt against tyranny and colonialism.

We should determine to participate in the rising revolutions, in the rising expectations, and share the benefits of democracy. Our record has not been as pure as it might have been and we should live it down, but we shall not live it down by delegating the speaking in our behalf only to the banking community, to only those who may be handpicked to speak in our behalf.

The people in our country must find a way, I would hope in this conference we got beyond the slogans and antagonism. The question is: How do we recast the image of the United States to the people of the world to more accurately reflect our country as it is?

If our labor movement in the United States merely hit upon anti-Soviet slogans and did not fight for housing, for minimum

wages, for our minimum demands in the shops, mines and mills, how much influence would we have in our country?

We have to provide the personal contact, provide the organizational support to our democratic trade-union colleagues in these countries and help them wage the battle for health, for housing, for minimum wages, for their share in the democratic world.

Our record might have been better in many, many instances than it has been. It is well to speak of the fact that we have spoken out against tyrannies of all kinds, Communist and Fascists. But there have been times when we did not direct the revolution as we might have.

Must we always wait until the Communists send their Mikoyan to seek trade deals in Cuba before we become aware how the Cubans have been oppressed—yes, by American oppression?

Or are we concerned with them as people after they are taken over by Communist or Fascist dictatorship? Are we concerned that they enjoy the fruits of modern technology? Then, we should not wait until a Castro comes along.

He has made an excellent revolution but is a lousy technician. We waited long while Batista was arresting and killing people. We waited long, doing nothing while trade unionists were strange supporters of Batista.

Perhaps we should have provided clearer direction to the revolution in Cuba. Let us not oversimplify problems by laying them at the doorstep of some new threat that might face us in Latin America. It is not a new threat.

Demagogues are merely around to take advantage of the troubled waters and are trying to ride the band wagon. We need to go back to basic struggles that trade unions used, to provide a positive leadership to people in their search for a full share of freedom and human dignity, their right to share in the technology. This is the revolution that the world is interested in. It is winning that revolution that provides security with freedom and democracy. We need to be four-square on the side of those who are fighting for that kind of freedom and democracy.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Any further comment? Then, we have just about reached our set schedule and conclude the morning session. We will now rest until 2 o'clock when we will hear another of our guest speakers.

Thank you very much for coming, and I urge you all to return at 2 o'clock.

(Thereupon the conference adjourned at 12:15 o'clock p.m.)

PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

Tuesday, April 19, 1960

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: We will now undertake the afternoon program.

This afternoon we will begin with a discussion of the problems of "The Far East and the World of Tomorrow."

We have been exceedingly fortunate in obtaining the assistance of one of the outstanding scholars in this field, Professor David N. Rowe, of the Department of Political Science of Yale University. He will discuss this subject very thoroughly.

Professor Rowe was born in Nanking, China. He has good reason, therefore, to understand, of course, many of the problems of the people of the Far East. He has traveled throughout the Pacific area and knows at first hand, from observation, the peoples and the conditions in Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Saigon, Indonesia, and India. Professor Rowe has also spent considerable time in the Middle and Near East, and also in Africa, Latin America and Western Europe.

He has taught in a number of our country's leading universities, from California to Connecticut.

We are indeed fortunate in having the opportunity to hear Professor Rowe. Now, it is a distinct pleasure to present to the conference, Professor David N. Rowe.

(Applause.)

PROF. DAVID N. ROWE

"The Far East and the World of Tomorrow"

MR. ROWE: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen:

I feel a considerable amount of diffidence in attempting to discuss a topic as complicated and as large as this one—particularly just after all of you have had what, I am sure, must have been an excellent lunch, after which the only rational thing to do is to lie down and sleep (laughter). I'll try to prevent you from sleeping, but I will not be able to help it if you do lie down on me.

With respect to this subject, "The Far East and the World of Tomorrow," we are dealing with two groups of potentialities for the future. The world of tomorrow will, of course, include and contain the Far East, and it is equally true that the Far East will significantly determine, by its own development into the future, what the world of tomorrow will be. If we can decide what kind of world we want in the future, we will, at the same time, be deciding what kind of Far East we think is possible then, and we are making some assumptions as to how that Far East will be developed, and how it will ultimately fit into influencing the world in general at that time.

When we think about such things, we may drift into mere speculation about the form of the future. Or, what is more dangerous, we may be tempted to indulge ourselves in the luxury of utopian daydreaming. We must carefully abstain from any such tendencies as these. In such case, we can do a great deal of useful thinking about the future, provided we are both knowledgeable and prudent. We must add to our knowledge and have confidence in it, but, at the same time, we must be careful not to trust in it too much since we know its limitations. Granted these precautions, we are wholly justified in thinking systematically about the future, if only because such thinking must and can provide much of the basis for present planning and policy making. This is so because when we think about the future, we deal with at least three different, but related factors. These are: possibilities, probabilities, and desirabilities.

We cannot possibly decide in a responsible way what kind of world we want tomorrow without taking into account the feasibility and likelihood of its achievement. But is it equally true that what we want may become possible and likely if only we want it enough and are willing enough to put behind it everything we have and are?

Thus, our thinking about the future will no doubt result in statements of preference, rooted in our beliefs and predispositions, but qualified by our notions of what is practical and likely. These statements are apt to include quite often such words as "should," and "must"—indicating preferences of different degrees of strength. This is natural and seemingly inevitable, for behind our preferences must lie convictions which are only partially the result of rational mental processes and which depend for their implementation not only upon systematic know-

ledge and wise and prudent action, but also upon emotional fervor or the identification of individuals to their ideals and aims.

Now, seen in this light, what world of tomorrow should we strive for, and how does the Far East enter into, and influence us in this task? Here it is not only necessary but desirable to draw a broader picture. It is necessary because we have time and space for no more but it is also desirable because what we should come up with are formulations dealing with the large and, therefore, general problems of the future.

Must Preserve Nation-State System

I will say first, that in my view, *the world of tomorrow must preserve the nation-state system*. This is not because it is a perfect system, but because, in spite of its imperfections, it seems to me to provide the only workable basis for the creation and preservation of free, private individualism, and for the social-psychological differentiation and variegation closely associated with it. The increasing interdependence of states, a tendency that seems destined to become strengthened in the future, does not invalidate the multiple-state system. Indeed, it may be that recognition of their increasing interdependence may prove to be the price of the survival into the indefinite future of these political entities. Be that as it may, the present age is certainly one of remarkable proliferation of nation-states. In the Far East and South Asia alone, nearly a dozen new states have been established since World War II. This has happened at the very time when many of our supposedly most advanced thinkers had already concluded that nationalism was the root of all evil, and could only result in increasing strife between nations, to the detriment of us all.

Now, in defending and supporting the nation-state system, it is quite unnecessary for us to defend all the political entities which are elements thereof. It may well be that certain of the new states which have emerged in the Far East recently will be found to lack the essentials for statehood. Some of them may disintegrate into still smaller units, and others may unite to form states presently non-existent. We should all be happy if these changes could be produced with a minimum of destructive conflict both internal and external. But we must always be reconciled to the incidence of a certain amount of disorder and even of bloodshed in these matters, for they do involve matters of such ultimate argument as many times will preclude orderly compromise.

What we must come down on the side of is the nation-state system itself. There is no substitute for it in the preservation of cultural differentiation, and there is no better system now known to us as a framework within which human liberties may

grow. To it, the chief threat in the Far East today and in the foreseeable future is the world Communist revolution with its universalist dogmas backed up by military aggression and political subversion. We have witnessed the destruction of the old imperialisms in and of the Far East in recent years, only to be confronted with the new imperialism of international Communism. Since World War II international Communism has been directly involved in territorial aggression at the expense of newly formed nations, not once or twice, but several times.

We need only mention Korea, Laos, Malaya and India, to remind ourselves how territorially pervasive and how incessant these attacks have been. And in the case of Tibet, while entirely separate nationality was not involved, the attacks of the Chinese Communists have been aimed at shattering in Tibet all those elements of cultural differentiation which so essentially characterize members of the nation-state system. And their crude policies of genocide, of racial destruction in Tibet, reminiscent of Nazism at its worst, can result only in the takeover of Tibet by the Chinese Communists, an example of naked imperialism at its worst.

What can we do to prevent the new nations of the Far East from falling victims to Communist imperialist aggression? The first thing we must learn here is that no single response to this problem will suffice. Our best response must be a multiple one, judiciously combining in each and every case the proper blend of political, economic and military measures. We must, at all costs, resist the pressure of those who would fix on a single solution to problems such as these. Along this line, there is currently much clamor in this country for the abandonment of measures of military defense against aggression in the Far East. While it is clear that military measures alone are not enough, it also seems evident that they are indispensable. The chief agitators against measures of military defense against Communist aggression in the Far East and for the security of Far Eastern countries seem to advocate an unbalanced degree of trust in the efficacy of economic measures. It is perhaps a mark of the susceptibility in certain intellectual circles to doctrines of primitive Marxism that so many of our thinkers have been led to believe in the determining power of economic factors. To them, the answers to problems of social and political stability, particularly in those areas which they describe as "underdeveloped" may best be found in economic improvement. No one should doubt the social and political impact of economic development in the Far East, even if he must wonder just *what* that impact really is. We do not know much about that subject, but one of the facts of life in that region today is that military security is an absolute prerequisite to economic development, and that until it can be locally supplied as a partial consequence of all the various processes of modernization in

underdeveloped countries, it may have to be supplied from the outside, by agreement of weaker or more exposed nations with a protecting power.

Nor do we, I believe, give sufficient weight in our policies toward the Far East to political means of action, in which I include the psychological-cultural activities we should carry on, in and with regard to the Far East, in the process of defending the nations there against takeover by imperialist Communist aggression.

Must Improve Conditions of Life

But I will return to this latter point a bit later on. Now I want to revert to the economic factor, and to say, secondly, that in my view, *the world of tomorrow must embody the improvement of the conditions of life for the billions of human beings who will populate the earth in coming generations.* Most people agree to this and it would be most gratifying if we could evolve an easy formula for achieving it. But while this is impossible, that is not to say that we can do nothing to strengthen our approach to these matters. For Far Eastern countries attempting to improve their economic situation, the magic word nowadays seems to be "industrialization." No doubt this is ultimately desirable, and it may be attainable in some measure everywhere. But I believe that in many cases industrialization has become a shibboleth in the Far East, something to which rather unreasoning worship is given. I fear that great numbers of people in these countries will pay heavily for such an irrational approach to the problem of production, taken in some cases, by power-hungry politicians who see in large industrial complexes a natural outlet for their functions as would-be planners or bureaucratized managers.

It must be remembered at all times that the mode of economic production most prevalent in the Far East is agriculture, and that in most of the countries in that area the vast preponderance of the people gain their living directly from the soil. This has at least two very important connotations or implications. First, if we are interested in elevating the standard of life for these millions of people, we must help to improve agriculture in these countries. We must help to improve the system of agricultural production, and we must assist in improving the income-distribution systems in those countries. There is no use increasing production, only to see all the increases go into the hands of either landlords or the government. We must also see that, whoever gets the profits from increased production, the increases are devoted, at least partly, to the capitalization of new and non-agricultural modes of production. Taxation and savings are the two chief channels through which increases of agricultural production can best be funneled into investment. Such investments

must stress communication and transport at the outset, quite as much as the construction of factories for producing heavy or consumer goods.

Japan and Formosa Examples

To find a model for this type of approach in the Far East to economic modernization we do not have to search far. Modern Japan embodies it to a great extent. The introduction of industrialism into Japan during the past century was to a considerable extent supported by Japanese agriculture, it being a common saying that Japanese industry was built upon the backs of the peasantry. To do this, agriculture had to be developed, too, not only to support a growing population more adequately, but to supply capital for investment in other fields. It is perhaps doubtful whether the conditions in any other Far Eastern country can be the same as those in Japan a hundred years ago. Nevertheless, there is a great merit in approaching the problem of economic modernization through agriculture first, and only secondarily and derivatively through communication-transport and industrial plants themselves.

Taiwan today is another example of this approach. The problem of agriculture there has been subjected to multiple solutions; distribution of land to the farmers; the virtual abolition of the landlord class, which has been converted into a new class of business investors; the reduction of remaining rents paid by farmers; and the intensive training of farmers in improved methods of cultivation. All these reforms have greatly elevated the total and per capita production of agricultural goods and raised the level of living in Taiwan to where it is second in Asia only to that of Japan. The part played by Chinese-American cooperation in bringing about these changes must be a matter of great pride to us. This model could well be imitated in other Far Eastern countries. Its obvious logic is to be seen in the fact that though Taiwan has benefited from much American aid, it is now about ready to exploit its new productivity, particularly that in agriculture, as the base for industrial development designed in the not-too-distant future to enable it to take off into virtual economic self-support.

By contrast, those Far Eastern countries which are unable, or refuse, to attack fundamentally their agricultural problems, and which will depend seemingly indefinitely upon tributary relations in the field of foreign trade and capital accumulation, are simply deferring the solutions of fundamental problems. Or, what is worse, they are attempting to proceed directly into industrialization, usually of the heavy type, without even beginning any general and fundamental modernization at the grass roots, into which industry may fit in a complementary and implementing fashion. Of course, the Communist regimes,

such as that on the China mainland, will doubtless persist in premature and unbalanced development of heavy industry if only because they envisage it as the surest quick way to military power. They clearly intend to employ their new armed power in foreign aggression in order, they hope, to alleviate the internal pressures produced by their general disregard for the welfare potentialities of economic advance. Non-Communist countries cannot hope to rival the Communists in the proportion of total production they extract from the people for capitalization of industry. But they can easily surpass the Communists in the per capita contribution of their people to savings, provided their emphasis begins with the motivation of the producer. This is bound to be a more efficient system of production and a more valid basis for capitalization than that based upon terror, compulsion, and maximum deprivation. Thus, in the long run, there ought to be no real reason to fear competition with the Communist approach to agriculture and industrial production in the Far East.

Even with the most optimistic view of the world of tomorrow, there is very little, if any, reason to expect that we can contrive the total elimination of economic inequalities in and between the countries of the Far East. And it is doubly true that we can hardly hope in the foreseeable future to see the levels of living and production in those countries brought up to our own level. It might be easier for us to take a rather remote and detached view of this, and to conclude that there is nothing we can or should do about it, if it were not for the almost certain impact of it upon ourselves. Just one question here: How long do we think we can bar out of our country the lower-priced products of rising industries in Far Eastern countries? We may be willing to raise our tariffs, but are we really willing to drive the Far Eastern sellers (and buyers) over to the Communists? Or, alternatively, are we willing to pay the costs to us of a security system in the Far East which will guarantee Japan, for example, reasonable access to Far Eastern markets which, without our preventive interposition, may well be taken over by force by the Chinese Communists? However we look at it, there are a number of alternatives for us, the cost of which will tend to diminish greatly our real elevation in income above people in Far Eastern countries in the world of tomorrow.

Accentuate Communication of Ideas and Knowledge

Third and finally, *the world of tomorrow must be one in which the positive communication of ideas and knowledge will be greatly accentuated over its current level.* I am speaking of communications which carry, as most of them do whether we realize it or not, a full load of values, preconceptions, and, if you will, prejudices. The presence in the world of today of

openly avowed fully closed ideological systems is a major danger to the intellectual, moral and spiritual growth of mankind. These systems tend to force upon us who are totally opposed to the modern propaganda-plus-terrorization states a defensive posture in the ideological field which cannot help but inhibit our own freedom. This is a natural danger, if only because, just as militarism engenders a military response, closed ideological systems tend to force us into a rigid posture of preventive defense in the ideological field. The minimum cost to us is to divert us from our normal desire to pursue knowledge wherever it may lead us, by channeling our attention on the doctrines of the opposition, if only to oppose them ourselves.

Now, the genuine penetration of closed ideological systems may be impossible for us today and for some time into the future. In the Far East, the "bamboo curtain" around Communist China seems even tighter today than the "iron curtain" around the Soviet ever has been. The best-intentioned efforts to get behind it, even if only for purposes of our own information, and not with any intent to propagate our own ideas there, are doomed to failure as things now stand. The Chinese Communists have evidently decided to deny access to any but accredited diplomats who are severely inhibited as to movement and contact, or to the trusted friends, colleagues and co-workers in the West, whom they even now allow to travel and speak freely throughout their territory. Some of the American citizens among them are already touring the United States and presenting the pro-Communist version of recent events in China.

Under such circumstances, it is all very well to argue for sending competent China specialists to Communist China so as to learn more about that country and report back to us in the interest of general enlightenment. Under present circumstances, this would be like wanting to know more about the narcotics traffic so as to be able to deal with this great social evil in a more effective manner.

But what if the only persons we could send to investigate it had to be approved by the Mafia in advance? Would we not, and rightly, then conclude that we *already* knew enough about the narcotics traffic to know that we must fight it by all means at our disposal, and by every new means we could mobilize under public approval, and that, much as we would like to know more about it, we could hardly profit by sending investigators who did not share our clearly well-founded opinion that it was bad from the ground up?

We Lack Knowledge of Eastern Languages

But if we can plead virtual impossibility of much inter-communication with Communist China today, this does not exonerate

us from our many shortcomings in communication in the Far East where no such obstacles exist. What are these shortcomings, and how can we remedy them? First and foremost is our almost disastrous lack of knowledge of the languages of the Far East. I am constantly hearing of so-called lags in the field of military hardware, in which it is said we are one, or two, or even five years or more, behind the Russians. I must say that, in knowledge of Far Eastern languages, we are more like 25 years behind the Russians. This puts us at a great disadvantage when it comes to communicating in the Far East. The day is past and gone when we can well gain and keep friends in that area without a far greater degree of mutuality in the use of languages than we now have as a people and as a nation. The recent efforts to make up lost ground, and which are belated attempts to respond to an already great superiority of the Russians in this field, are better than nothing. But, as usual, it is going to cost a disproportionate amount of money to do this job on a rush remedial basis. With Federal aid, which a few institutions still refuse to accept, we are now getting a first trickle of new students of the so-called "rare languages," some of which are so "rare" in Asia that they are spoken by several hundred million people!

But this is not all. With regard to communication, we seem to be at a considerable disadvantage even when it comes to distributing publications in our own language. Here, we are simply not communicating our most important ideas and techniques to millions of people who would like to have them, and largely because of the high cost of American books. You may have seen the recent references in the press to the re-printing, out of copyright, of American books at a very low cost in Taiwan, for example. As usual in these matters, this general practice in Taiwan is a response to genuine needs and, again, to the great differential in incomes between Taiwan and here. The American student may be able, if not usually willing, to pay seven and a half dollars for a textbook, but in Taiwan, that amount will feed a college student for a whole month! They cannot buy our textbooks and manuals, let alone our novels, in any useful quantity unless the cost is drastically reduced from the American level.

Since we do not do this ourselves, the people in Taiwan do it themselves. It is not against the law there, and it is not likely to become illegal in the near future. We protest against it as depriving our own authors, publishers, and printers, of their livelihood. But it is my considered opinion that this is not true, for except in such very cheap editions as the Taiwan offset printing people reproduce, very few, if any, copies would be sold in Taiwan.

Now, of course, books from the Soviet Union and Communist China do not sell in Taiwan. But they do sell widely elsewhere

in the Far East. How do the Communists handle this matter? Suffice it to say that they send into the Far East every year millions of copies of their books of all sorts, at little or no cost to the ultimate consumers. Their resources in trained linguists enable them to send translations of those things written originally in Russian or Chinese, and all this at very little cost to the reader. Who pays for this? The Russian and Chinese people, of course, who, since they have no private enterprise, cannot protest that nobody makes a profit for himself out of it.

I would like to read to you here a Communist Chinese statement on some of their activities along this line. This statement is already over a year old, but it is still extremely interesting. The dateline is December 22, 1958. This is from Communist China:

"The Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the Ministry of Education, and the Commission of Nationalities Affairs recently held a joint national conference on publication work in the minority areas."

I would like to say, at this point, that in China there are many minority groups that have their own dialects and their own languages.

"Under party leadership and with its assistance, the Socialist publication work of our country's minority people has been developed successfully in the past nine years since liberation. Now 1 central and 10 local nationality publication houses have been established, and have published books of various categories in 18 different minority languages."

Then follows a long list of these languages, which, perhaps, would not interest you except for the inclusion, among them, of Korean—as a minority language in China.

Going on with this:

"The books published include the theoretical writings of Marxism and Leninism, writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung in particular, the documents concerning the policies of the party and the state, and textbooks and dictionaries on social and natural sciences, art, and literature. Books concerning nationalities' problems have been published in the Han [Chinese] language."

Now, I want you to take note of these statistics: according to the Chinese Communist statistics from 1952 to the end of 1957, "61.21 million books of 6751 titles have been published throughout the nation. This has stimulated the effect of the party on the various minority people, consolidated unification of the fatherland and unity among the people of various nationalities, speeded up the implementation of the Socialist revolution and Socialist construction in minority areas, and accelerated the development

and prosperity of culture, education, science, and technology in minority areas. Particularly, the publication of the 'Selected Writings of Mao Tse-tung' in Mongolian, and Vighur, the Korean languages, and the Red Flag magazine in four different minority languages is of great significance to the political and cultural life of various minority nationalities."

Now, even discounting some of these statistics, I think we can still see the great importance the Chinese Communists attribute to this business of foreign language publications.

How do we want to handle this very grave problem of our own publications reaching Far Eastern markets? I am sure someone will advocate having the United States Government buy up large quantities of our publications for low-cost distribution abroad, even if in direct competition with foreign commercial sales by publishers themselves. But if this latter obstacle can be overcome, there is still the matter of cost. To this cost, every wage-earner, even those in typography and printing, will have to contribute eventually by taxes. And many will protest the "cheapening" of our product and the lowering of standards of production which may result from the insistence of the Government on lowered unit costs.

Some awareness of the real magnitude of the problem of communications between us and our friends, let alone with our avowed enemies, may come to us when we realize that this matter of publication distribution is only one, and a minor one at that, of our difficulties in the field of communications in the Far East.

On Exchange of Persons

Before I close, I would like to deal with just one more problem of communication, and that is the exchange of persons. Here, I believe a number of drastic reforms are long overdue, and I have already long since expressed my views on these matters to officials of our own and foreign governments. I hope some reforms will be made eventually.

First, on our side, I strongly believe that no American should be sent to the Far East by our Government under the exchange-of-persons program unless and until he has acquired at least an elementary speaking knowledge of the language of the country to which he is being sent, and also an introduction, at least, to its history and civilization.

We have, in recent years, been treated to some rather horrifying spectacles in the shape of gross ignorance of some diplomatic appointees regarding the countries in which it was proposed they were to represent us. But it is my considered opinion that this sort of thing, bad as it is, is far less injurious to

our relations with Far Eastern countries than it is to send, for example, professors from this country to lecture in the Far East, who are embarrassingly ignorant of the language of their host country and unacquainted with its civilization and culture. It is not enough to say that these persons are in the Far East to instruct in subjects far removed from the languages and civilizations of their host countries. For how can they well do this if they are, as in most cases, lacking even the most elementary knowledge of the cultural environment in which they must operate? How can they aim at the relevance of what they are seeking to transmit to the people to whom they offer it, if they are stone-blind to the main features of the local environment?

It is true that well-intentioned and fundamentally well-qualified personnel of this kind can pick up a great deal of this sort of thing during the stay of a year abroad. But this is merely doing the job backward, putting the cart before the horse. For if their real function abroad is to offer instruction valuable to recipient countries, they simply must acquire a minimum degree of sophistication in its culture before starting the job.

What kind of impression has the United States given to Far Eastern people who see that even the best-educated personnel of our country are almost all lacking in the most rudimentary knowledge of *their* country and their people? If this state of affairs were to be explained, perhaps it would be attributed to the persistence in the United States of the outdated colonial idea that while it is the duty of Far Easterners to learn our language and to become acculturated by us, it is not our job to learn theirs, nor to consider their civilizations sufficiently meritorious so that we should have even the least knowledge of them.

Do you perhaps have the feeling that I am overdrawing the picture? I assure you that I am not. I have intentionally chosen here to emphasize the exchanges with Far Eastern countries of American intellectuals, such as college professors, but if we add to this the great hordes of Government personnel, both civilian and military, that from time to time rotate through these Far Eastern countries, my case would become totally unassailable. The amount of preparation of these people, including their wives and children, for the important period of their residence abroad is so slight as to be pitiful. It is no wonder that often their presence alienates their hosts. It is, in my estimation, amazing that there is no more of this than there is.

Would it be too much to ask that before any such personnel are sent abroad, a minimum of, say, three months be put into orienting them basically for their life and work abroad? This could be done at one or more centers set up in this country by the Government in conjunction with its current promotion of the

study of languages and cultures of the Far East. The best possible instruction should be and could be made available. The cost to the Government would be very slight in comparison to the tremendous benefits to be reaped. I have had considerable experience in the matter of training selected personnel for work in the Far East, and I can certainly say, from extended field observation of the all too few people trained, that this really does work out.

On Training in U.S.

On the other side of the picture, there are further grave defects in the current program of exchange of persons. I speak here of the bringing to the United States of personnel from Far Eastern countries for training. Many of these persons should not be brought here at all, but sent with our financial assistance to other Far Eastern countries instead. There is little merit, for example, in training many people in the techniques of industrial production as seen in the United States, for there is too often an almost unbridgeable gap between their own stage of technological development and our own. We should do everything in our power to encourage the exchange of persons for these purposes between the various countries of the Far East. We should do that so that they can learn from each other. Japan, for example, can serve as host to many would-be technicians from less-advanced countries in the area and the training they would receive there would probably be much more realistically adjusted to their needs than what they would receive in the United States.

More serious, perhaps, is the fact that many of the qualified students from the Far Eastern countries who come here do not return to their own countries to give them the benefit of their training. This problem has become severe now in both the Republic of Korea and Taiwan. It is long overdue for solution. It is perhaps inevitable that a few trainees from both of these areas should remain more or less permanently in the United States; but, today, the vast majority do so. This means simply that every year we are skimming off the cream of their best young minds among the college graduates for example, and are giving them expensive training, and then we are retaining them for our own use.

I am positively in favor of training such personnel here. I believe we should increase their numbers provided we can, at the same time, secure a higher level of general and specialized competence in those we admit. But I do not believe any such program can long endure unless we are willing to cooperate in sending back each year those whose training has reached a certain level or who have remained in this country for a certain specified period of time. I believe that we should seriously consider imposing a far more equal balance between those admitted for

study each year and those who return home for work. It is particularly damaging to mutual good relations to have leading talents brought here only to remain so long that they become "de-nationalized" or so changed that if and when they return home they are no longer at home there. This sort of thing surely defeats our purpose in the exchange of persons.

I believe that we have arrived at our present state of bad practices in this respect from a combination of misguided altruism, sentimentality, and sheer neglect and ignorance of the matter. Sometimes, for example, when the Immigration authorities of our Government attempt to impose a sanction of law on those who overstay, the intellectuals in this country will do their very best to get around this law and make it so that the alien involved may stay here just as long as he likes. In the long run, this sort of thing could be harmful to our relations with Far Eastern countries and so deleterious to their best interests that it may threaten the whole future of our efforts to do something worthwhile in the training of Far Eastern personnel in the United States.

Foreign governments and their people also have a big part to play in this matter. They should assist in the raising of qualifications for sending their people to this country, while, at the same time, insisting upon their return when the purposes of their stay abroad have been attained, or before this in case the individual involved has stayed longer than is useful. It is their responsibility, chiefly, to make sure that those who return can be put to use and that they are compensated in accordance with their output.

In all countries of the Far East, the position of the intellectuals is changing, and in some cases, at least, has already changed for the worse. The privileged positions of the old traditional elite are vanishing with the shifts of power and influence in the society. But there is no substitute for brainpower, and in the final analysis, intellectuals, who are so greatly disoriented in their cultures today in the Far East, must remain essential to future development. We do not aid them in their re-integration by helping them escape to the United States and thus to avoid their responsible part in the shaping of the future of their home countries. But we must also try to help the countries of their origin to integrate the Western-trained intellectuals at home, primarily through allotting them a more adequate share of national income for their work. The place of the intellect, mind and spirit in the national development, and in the defense of the national freedoms from Communist aggression and destruction, is an essential one. Without the resources of morale which it particularly creates, none of our measures, military, economic, or political, can much avail.

Now, I have dealt here with only a few aspects of the Far

East as it may well be involved in the world of tomorrow. But perhaps even this brief treatment suffices to show us that as we live today, we are constantly acting and planning for tomorrow. We must constantly meet this responsibility with energy and courage. Its demands upon us will doubtless increase as time goes on.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Professor Rowe, I received a lot of satisfaction out of the very fine presentation you made to our conference. Undoubtedly, you put a lot of work and time into the preparation of your paper, and I know the members of our conference enjoyed it as much as I did. You have provoked and stimulated our thinking about the problems of the Far East. I could agree with much that you have said about some of the policies of our Government, about bringing people from other countries here and teaching them the things that they ought to do when they go back home, when, as a matter of fact, we are so far advanced in many of the fields, it would take five or six times their lifespan to accomplish and practice the things we try to teach them.

I think we need a shift in that policy and should encourage sending students to other countries that more likely represent the reasonable future attainment of the people in these emerging and developing countries.

Now we will have some comment on Professor Rowe's views. I ask Harry Goldberg, one of our representatives who has recently spent some time in the Far East, to say a few words.

I present to you now, Harry Goldberg.

HARRY GOLDBERG

MR. GOLDBERG: I would like to offer a couple of comments, footnotes, if I may, on the very illuminating and instructive paper read by Professor Rowe.

As Brother Harrison has just said, I have very recently, only five days ago, as a matter of fact, returned from a ten-week tour of work which took me through some of the most important countries of Asia.

Some years ago I worked in Asia as a representative of our labor movement, and it was very interesting for me to see some fundamental changes that had taken place in the thinking of our Asian friends, some very significant changes, especially in the political atmosphere.

Professor Rowe mentioned Tibet; of course, it was the brutal

crushing of the national revolt of Tibet and the aggression of Communist China against the territories of India that has been the most important single cause of the very significant change that has gone on in the political thinking of Asians as contrasted, say, with the time when I was there.

It is no longer possible for Communist China to pretend, as she did before, during and after the famous Bandung Conference in Indonesia in 1955 that she believes in co-existence and in peace, that she does not believe in interfering in the affairs of other nations. For good and for all, Tibet has ended this illusion, and our Asian friends, especially in India, have no more illusions about this.

When, for example, you can read in the official organ of the PSP—that is the publication of the Socialist Party of India—a statement to the following effect:

“It is important for us never to forget that imperialism is not something which can come from only one portion of the world to another. It is important for us never to forget that imperialism can rise in our own midst, and that an Asian country can oppress other Asian countries. It is important for us not to forget that Communist China is an imperialistic country and that Red imperialism can be worse than the old colonialism that we have experienced.”

When statements of this sort are made, then I say there has been development in political thinking and I do not mind saying that this has been very salutary from my own point of view.

One more short point and then I am done.

Professor Rowe has indicated the necessity of what he called the multiple approach in facing the Communist threat, not only politically, socially and economically but also militarily. I regard this as the essence of wisdom. I think it is important for us not to forget that there is no disagreement and there cannot be any disagreement in our ranks as to whether economic aid should be given to the fullest to help the fight against poverty and disease in underdeveloped countries. We do this for purely humane reasons and in line with our own normal laws and political principles; however, it would be a pipe dream to think that this, by itself, is going to solve or push back the Communist threat. It is important for us to realize that Hungary and Tibet, and other episodes of this sort, should be an eternal reminder to us that when it suits the Communists to use force to crush democratic aspiration, we must be able to counter it.

That lesson has not been lost in India and other places, and they are doing some very deep thinking about it—welcome thinking.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

MR. DUNN: My name is Joe Dunn. I am a member of the Communication Workers of America.

Mr. Chairman, I have been very impressed by the speakers on our various problems; however, one thing bothers me. No specific questions have been asked from the floor of the speakers.

We have heard this morning about our problems and our failures in various parts of the world, and, I realize, that we have failed in many aspects. The speakers we have had have done a wonderful job of presenting these problems to us. I was especially impressed with the last speaker and his recommendations to the Government.

In this body today are the sophisticates of the labor-union movement. I think, however, these sophisticates are seeking answers, and I would like to ask Professor Rowe, in view of his tremendous background in political science and his knowledge of our problems and our failures, what are his specific recommendations to this body to implement the program he has laid out to the Government.

Responsibility of the Individual

PROFESSOR ROWE: Well, sir, that's a question, of course, that I am asked all the time. I hope my answer to it is not going to sound too pat, because it is the kind of answer that I always give.

To me, this is a simple business. We live in a democratic society characterized by the responsibility of individuals to help, at all times, to shape the policies of the Government under which they live, and to shape, of course, in detail, the conditions of their own life.

We have well-recognized avenues by which the individual and the groups, the organized groups, can and should bring pressure upon the duly appointed elected representatives of the people. It simply comes back to the age-old formula that if you want something done by the Government of the United States, individuals must insist that it be done by bringing pressure and influence upon their reluctant representatives. Groups have a right, a duty and a privilege to act in our country. They must bring the recommendations that they have agreed upon to the attention of the executive branch and the Congress of the United States.

I don't, of course, claim that in this way we are going to get heaven down on earth tomorrow morning. I don't claim that we are going to get results as rapidly as any of us would like to have them, but, during my all-too-short life in this business, I have made it a duty to constantly keep plugging away. And I have found that even after years of time, the results surprisingly come about.

If you don't mind, maybe I will bore you with this story.

I was in Taiwan for two years, 1954 to 1956, and in the summer of 1958 I went back there for ten weeks. I traveled during that ten-week period 3,000 miles inside Taiwan, studying the farmers' association and their organization, the way they operated and their function, because I am interested in what is going on in the grass roots from the organizational point of view, and, particularly, since we Americans are helping them pay for this business. I was convinced by my survey of the Chinese countryside that, as I said in my lecture, the standard of living is extraordinarily high and, in fact, is the highest standard of living I have ever found among any Chinese farm groups any place. I visited about 15 provinces out of the 28 on the mainland during my time, so I know what I am talking about.

I became convinced, however, that the development of income to the individual and the increase of his standard of living were too rapid. You may say, "Well, that's really a funny idea. You mean that the Chinese farmers are living too well?" To that I say, "No." They are not living at all well enough by our standards, but I say that every year the increase of production is being essentially consumed in outgo in services, the standard of living of individuals. Not enough is being taken away in taxes. Not enough is being taken away in savings so that the tremendous increase in agricultural production could become a basis for modernization of other sectors of the economy. Before I left Taiwan I had the privilege of talking with two or three very highly placed persons in the Chinese government and in our American diplomatic establishment there. When I proposed this idea that the Chinese farmers ought to be deprived a little more, I was greeted with an absolutely blank stone wall. Both Chinese and Americans thought this was very peculiar, to say the least; that it just was not feasible.

I want to call your attention to the fact that this was in August of 1958. Early in 1960, or late in 1959—I forget which—this whole business appeared in the columns of the New York Times. They reported a designed cooperative policy of the Chinese and American governments to accentuate savings, to decrease the annual rate of increase of the standard of living so as to gradually—as I said in my paper—bring Taiwan into self-sufficiency.

So you see, you have to be patient, for sometimes these little things that you throw in unexpectedly bear fruit.

This is the only line that I can see. We don't have any other way of doing this business. An individual, at all times, has to be conscious of his public nature, to exercise our functions as members of a public society and to try to get the things done that we want to get done; and if the things don't get done, then there is nobody to blame but ourselves. We can't blame it on our representatives or on our elected officers of the Government because we know perfectly well that they respond to pressures upon them. My only answer, unsatisfactory as it may be, is still the only answer that we have.

(Applause.)

MR. KEENAN: My name is Joe Keenan.

I would like to ask the Professor this: I happened to be in India a year ago and spent 30 days there, and one of the things that impressed me was the condition of the trade unions in that country. They have about 5,000 of what we would call "locals." That's 5,000 individual unions. They have no George Meany, as such, and they have no Walter Reuther leading an organization. They are all individuals. I believe that the time is ripe for the labor movement—and I am talking about the democratic labor movement of this country—to try to get into those countries and try to solidify them. I believe that we have the kind of operation that would enable us to become some kind of a force to overcome the inroads that are being made by the Commies.

I just wonder if the Professor feels the same as I do, that the unions could play a great part in this fight if we could get them as a solid union.

PROFESSOR ROWE: I would be delighted to comment on that because my thinking runs along the same line.

Your suggestion is particularly significant in relation to India because, I understand, India is the country which, for better or for worse, and sometimes I have my doubts, is trying very hard to leap over into the age of big production and heavy industry.

This heavy industry is going to be controlled and run by somebody. The way things are in India today, it appears to me that the vast bulk of these things will be controlled and run by the state. If this is so, it certainly raises some very, very important questions along the line of what you are suggesting, and that is what is going to be the relationship between labor and management in these huge enterprises?

I would argue with all the power at my disposal that the impetus of the kind you suggest is valid, desirable, and something

that should be done through the United States Government, with its sanction if necessary; but, if possible, also on a purely individual basis, that is, that organization-to-organization contact should be made so as to help encourage the people in India who believe that there should be a free labor movement. There are people like that, but the pressures on them, not only from the Communists but from the possibilities of a forced-feed development of heavy industry, so that development could go into the hands of a government bureaucracy and this government bureaucracy could stifle the kind of free labor movement that you and I firmly believe in.

That's my opinion on the subject.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Are there any further comments or questions?

State your name, please.

MR. McDOWELL: I am McDowell of the Upholsterers' National Union. I would like to inquire with respect to this:

You have sketched some of the inadequacies of the personnel going abroad, for example, the lack of background with respect to language and culture. As you are aware, we have various universities for Far Eastern studies, and we are not lacking in resources. Does it not seem strange to you that there is not a free institution, a school in which such personnel are instructed in the nature of the semi-religious ideologies and the intensive tactics which they are going to face whether they are going to India, France, or any other place, where they are informed of the operational science and the preparation of the Communists? As far as I know, we have many schools to teach the cultural background but we do not have in the free world one school to match the training schools which have been training personnel for all nations all over the world for 40 years.

PROFESSOR ROWE: On that point, unless you mean by this the organized —

MR. McDOWELL: The Federation of Labor supports the Freedom of Academy bill.

PROFESSOR ROWE: I'm sympathetic to this, but I would like to qualify that statement by another. I'm reminded of a statement that people used to make jokingly in Japan during the occupation. When the question was discussed as to whether Japan could be brought over and changed, reformed, or what have you, into a democracy, some people jokingly used to say that we were going to give Japan democracy even if we have to shove it down their throats.

Let's take off from there. I happen to believe that the liberal arts college in American education is a fairly secure repository of our democratic values. I'm far from arguing it is faultless. I'm not going to say for one minute it has not been penetrated by the enemy, because it has, and, of course, they are wise to try to penetrate it; but I don't feel that we need a Freedom Academy as much as we need a rebirth of freedom where we normally give it birth and nurture it. I could argue that if you are going to staff a Freedom Academy you could go around to the various colleges and universities and pick people about whom you have no doubt. You know one result of that: the colleges and universities that you take these people away from would become worse than they were before. You have to have a certain sense of responsibility about this. It is not a minor problem.

Then, of course, you have various other problems from a strictly technical and educational point of view. I would argue not that the best way to have a Freedom Academy is to see to it that every academy is a Freedom Academy. If this sounds like a big job, all I can say is that it is. If this job is not done, you can have all the Freedom Academies you want, and you wouldn't get what you are after.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: We have just about reached the expiration of time for the discussion of this particular subject.

With the consent of the conference, we will pass on to the next subject in the program: "Africa and the Near East—the Problems of Economic Progress and Freedom."

Our speaker who will present this subject is Dr. Ernest C. Grigg. He is presently the chief of the Community Development Group, United Nations. Dr. Grigg has had broad and democratic training and very extensive practical experience in dealing with the most basic problems of human existence and human relations. He comes to us well-qualified by training as well as one who has had much practical experience. In years past, Dr. Grigg has been associated with the New York City Department of Welfare, with UNRRA and with other international refugee organizations. For a number of years Dr. Grigg served as chief of the United Nations regional office for the Middle East until he took the position he presently occupies as chief of Community Development Group of the Bureau of Social Affairs at the United Nations.

I'm very happy to have this opportunity to present to our conference Dr. Ernest C. Grigg.

(Applause.)

DR. ERNEST C. GRIGG

"Africa and the Near East—Problems of Economic Progress and Freedom"

MR. GRIGG: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Meany, and ladies and gentlemen:

I believe that before I begin my prepared speech I owe you and the organizers of the conference an apology for apparently departing somewhat from the subject which has been given to me. It seemed to me that there were a number of ways that I might talk about this very complex and very intricate subject. One was to attempt an analysis of several of the countries involved; another was to attempt an analysis of some of the particular problems involved, all of which seemed to me to be a rather lengthy and perhaps arduous task which could not be done too well in the time allotted and for the number of people here represented.

I therefore have chosen to discuss broadly some of the reflections which come to me as a result of considerable travel and work in the countries under discussion.

An American thoughtfully prepares for a journey beyond the earth's pull. The scintillating fusion of time and space in vehicles of unimaginable power and complexity moves nearer.

An African walks the 30 miles from his village to the nearest town. It is literacy day; 4,000 men, women and children gather to dance, sing and applaud because among them 750 have learned to read and write. Just a few short months ago I had the rare opportunity of participating in just such an occasion. The celebration is great, the rejoicing unrestrained. Education moves nearer.

Impressive phrases have been employed to describe the rights of man and the subjection of men by other men has already twice resulted in titanic upheavals and the nightmarish glow of a third dictates our actions and prejudices our ambitions. But millions in Africa and the Near East are making their first faltering steps towards the goals for which it is presumed these earlier catastrophes were endured.

In a world where an uncomfortable proportion of our economic thought, corporate endeavors and combined resources are dedicated to the task of restraining within manageable limits the excesses in goods and supplies to which our productive powers expose us, millions in other lands are hungry, partially clad and without adequate shelter.

This then is a world of contrasts—communication and education as against insularity and ignorance. There are the lofty

ideas about the rights and dignity of man. On the one hand we speak in eloquent measures of the brotherhood of man and on the other fight with fervent intensity the implications of our own logic. There are men to whom these notions are only beginning to have currency; and finally, there is the contrast between abundance and need.

In a subject of such complexity and such far-reaching implications as the problems of economic progress and freedom in Africa and the Near East, if we can examine briefly the three areas to which I have alluded, we shall already have posed for ourselves a substantial problem which, while it cannot be dealt with exhaustively, can serve as a basis for provocative questions, productive thought and intelligently motivated action. It is not suggested that the contrast I have drawn between the conquest of space and the walking peasant is intended to propose a simple transfer of modern transportation methods to the area affected. Nor is it implied that the surpluses of goods is merely a matter of transporting such goods to the areas in need of them.

These are the ultimate objectives, to be sure, but the steps in between are complex and intricate and the way bristles with pitfalls and dangers. These dangers are both external and internal. Externally, there is the danger that too little interest bespeaks a failure to appreciate the problems, an unwillingness to become involved. Too much interest invites the criticism that the action is self-serving and is entered into for selfish and ulterior motives. Internally, the dangers are no less intense. For here the inherent right to make one's own mistakes is subverted and conditioned by time factors, which are new and all-persuasive.

If, however, we are to discuss some of the dangers and pitfalls which widen the distance between the contrasts described above, we must perforce make some generalizations regarding the areas under discussion. I do this with great timidity and excuse the exercise on the basis of the limited time available and the necessity of seeing the problem whole before one attempts to scrutinize its components.

Situations Vary in Areas and Countries

In Africa we are witnessing the emergence into independent status of a whole group of countries formerly under the domination of one or more foreign powers. It would be the grossest kind of error to imagine that any two of these countries have undergone exactly the same type of foreign dominance, were ruled in the same manner, began their colonial status at the same stage of development or are populated by people having the same customs, traditions, practices, speech or even physical

appearance. Indeed, it would be difficult to find identical patterns within regions of the same country.

To a lesser extent, the description also characterizes the Near East, but one must recognize that there are differences of a fundamental character, the detailing of which cannot be attempted here.

For example, the pattern of foreign domination is not the same for many of the countries. One must also recognize that much of the Middle East represents the cradle of our civilization.

For those who would offer help or even sympathetic understanding, the fact of these differences demands a breadth of view and a flexibility of concept beyond the mere pedestrian attempts with which similar problems have been approached. What is at once both heartening and challenging are the points of similarity about which we can, I believe, generalize without fear of encountering serious disagreement.

In my view, the first of these areas about which there can be no question is the fact that the peoples of Africa and the Near East are in the midst of a gigantic social revolution. The tempo of this phenomenon may, in some instances, be very slow, in other situations it is well advanced, and in still other instances, it may be at varying stages in between. Of its existence, however, there is no doubt whatever, it is the fact of life to which all other facts must accommodate themselves. The tempo of this revolution will inevitably increase and short of a cataclysm that will destroy mankind, the Africa that emerges will be a far, far different Africa than the continent with which we are now familiar.

The revolution may be violent; it may be peaceful. It may, with a steadily widening range of activity bring a richer and fuller life to large numbers of people. It may in short spurts and bumps benefit limited groups of people for temporary periods. Much of how it will turn out is determined by the understanding of the world without.

Aspirations Identical

A second fact of universal application and with which there can be no dispute is that the desires, hopes and aspirations of the peoples of Africa and the Near East are identical with those of people elsewhere in the world. They want, they demand, an opportunity to live in such manner and in such surroundings as will ensure the dignity of the individual and his right to pursue unhampered the aspirations to which his abilities and inclinations direct him. This involves, among other things, education for his children, adequate food, shelter and clothing,

the benefits of modern medicine, the employment of modern inventions and the institutions to improve his daily life.

The manner in which he will secure these things, the very expression of his desire for them, will be many, varied, and to outsiders frequently incomprehensible and at times contradictory. It is not unreasonable to suppose as the process accelerates and these manifestations become more bewildering from, say, the western point of view, there will be considerable pressure for the kindly disposed to withdraw in hurt anger, railing at the ingrates who spurned our proffers of assistance.

I do not suggest any ready formula for understanding the inevitable frictions that will develop. I attempt no such formula because fundamentally I do not believe that a scheme can be devised which will fit the situation. For the differences, the difficulties, are compounded of many elements—of past indignities, of newborn unaccustomed freedoms, of different sets of superficial values, of personal ambitions, of justifiable suspicions, of former affiliations, of pride and prejudice.

This is the stuff of which growth and change are made and the frictions and difficulties are, in my view, inescapable. They cannot be got around. They can, I believe, be minimized. They can be put in proper perspective so that they need not carry the entire burden of our future relations and thus need not provide the breaking point in a relationship that is essential to both groups.

In preparing for this task that lies ahead for both ourselves and the countries we would befriend, it seems to me that certain elementary dispositions must be taken. Among these, I would list a shedding of the shibboleth that ours is a gesture of disinterested altruism. A change in this fundamental attitude will give our overall view a clarity which it has hitherto lacked and will provide us with an instrument for evaluating our own and the acts of others with a degree of precision which has meaning and content.

I suggest that another disposition we must hasten to achieve is a firm declaration and implementation of what we are for, rather than what we are against. I believe that in adopting such a position we come nearer to common ground with Africa and the Near East than is possible through any formula which might be especially devised for application to this particular part of the world.

We are for the full development of the legitimate national aspirations of people everywhere.

We are for equal opportunity for individuals and states.

We are for an improved standard of living for the underprivileged.

We are for the dignity of the individual.

We will do what we can in individual instances to aid in the achievement of these goals.

We will exert ourselves to help create a world climate in which it is possible for all countries to work towards these ends.

Perhaps the enunciation of such objectives seems a little grandiose and will be criticized as deficient in the day-to-day practicalities with which we are confronted.

I submit that the practicalities of day-to-day action and thought have meaning and purpose only insofar as they can be related to overall objectives and a deep compassionate understanding of what we are doing, why we are doing it, and what we hope to achieve by the actions to which we commit ourselves. Moreover, and perhaps closer to the point, there must be sympathetic understanding and an appreciation of what Africa and the Near East are striving for, what their goals are and why they believe that a given course of action will achieve the objectives they have in mind.

That an overall view and concern with ultimate objectives places all of us under the necessity of thinking big and thinking in perhaps unaccustomed terms is not denied. Nor is it claimed that the exercise will be easy or readily entered into. That such an approach, however, is impractical, useless or utopian is most emphatically rejected.

Western Criteria Not Valid

Africa and the Near East, evolving as they must from their own sets of values, their own customs and traditions, cannot be understood in terms of a different set of values, differing customs, other traditions. The Arab's approach to government social security program must, for example, be understood in terms of Arab family relationships and the teachings of the Moslem religion. The African's acceptance and use of a money economy must relate itself to the economy in which he has hitherto lived. One could go on multiplying examples, but the point I wish to make is that a judgment with respect to the Arab's desire for security and the African's wish for the things money can buy cannot be made through the use of western criteria.

Thus, let us not jump to the hasty conclusion that social security programs are unwanted in the Near East because there is difficulty in introducing them or in finding the conditions that would make them operate successfully. Do not accept the African's refusal to regard money with the same sense of awe that we do as evidence that he is satisfied with his present hut.

Each—the West on the one side and Africa and the Near East on the other—must employ the criteria of their mores. It is part and parcel of each of us and we can no more separate ourselves from the basis on which we make our value judgments than we can employ another's senses to see, touch, feel and hear. Thus, if we would understand one another, we are thrust back to fundamentals where we can meet on common ground. For the great masses of us, our hopes, aspirations, and ambitions are identical. We can and will become confused on the methods by which these ends are to be achieved, but if we have a solid footing in an understanding of the ultimates, perhaps we can create for ourselves tolerant acceptance of methods which appear at cross-purposes, one with the other.

A firm footing in the fundamentals may help us understand a facet of African and Near East behavior that seems unreasonable but is nonetheless understandable. The nations of this area, for the most part, have known many years of foreign domination. Irrespective of the justice of the view, the whole of the western world, and the white man in particular, is associated with that period. The now free nations must assert their independence. Any gesture, attitude, or suggestion, no matter how well intentioned, can and often will be interpreted as an attempt to continue or reinstitute this previous condition. It is certain that many well conceived and entirely disinterested plans and schemes will be summarily rejected for no other reason than that they suggest an attitude in which the West is saying father knows best. The right to make one's mistakes may here take on an exaggerated dimension but it is real, it is a fact to be reckoned with. All countries, all men, have made similar mistakes. Indeed, it does not become a mistake until subsequent development tell us that it was.

What I have tried to say in this brief statement is that Africa and the Near East are in the midst of a great social change. The problem of economic progress and freedom cannot be dissociated from this phenomenon. The success of the present struggle is inextricably a part of what will happen to us and to the world in which we live. In our efforts to help we shall feel thwarted and rejected. We are, however, too closely bound to the other to afford the luxury of not understanding. I have suggested that an alternative approach to some of the problems which are emerging is the adoption of a forthright position with respect to what we are for. What we are against is sterile and useless and has no meaning for the people of Africa and the Near East. We must declare ourselves for the things we stand for and then prepare to implement those standards without regard to whether the methods adopted conform to our own notions of how things should be done.

We must also be prepared to accept the logical implications

of what we are for, though the going is rough, and, our own pet prejudices, sorely tried.

The task involved is not easy and it is not altogether certain that the wit and compassion of man is equal to the job. But surely it is worth the try for the alternatives are indeed bleak. Preoccupied as we are with the dread spectre of armed conflict, the non-military events in Africa and the Near East have no dramatic appeal and may seem relatively unimportant. It is not at all unlikely, however, that the battle we so fervently wish to avoid is at this moment being fought out in the speed and manner with which these two great areas of the world will achieve economic progress and freedom.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you very much, Dr. Grigg, for that very fine statement and very fine contribution to our conference.

I now want to call on Miss Springer, a member of our International Affairs Department, for some brief comment on this particular subject.

I now present Maida Springer.

MAIDA SPRINGER

MISS SPRINGER: President Meany, Brothers and Sisters:

As an observer of Africa since 1945 and a limited and occasional participant since 1951, I do have some partisan views on the events in Africa and I do not pretend that they are other than partisan. As a member of this organization my partisanship has perhaps been enhanced because within the AFL-CIO we have come to see the stakes of Africa and the rest of the world as entirely related, stakes that cannot be separated.

As I listened to Dr. Grigg and he began his remarks with watching Africans going to the polls to vote, I remembered some of my own experiences in Africa. Very often, I have read and listened to people who presumed to speak for Africa with an African point of view, who claimed they knew what was best for Africa. They said that elections and voting were a kind of sophisticated thing which was suddenly imposed on Africans, which they didn't want but that World War II and international opinion forced it on them. I want to suggest that this is erroneous.

I can go back as far as 1875, 1880, and later, when the African aborigine society and the Gold Coast sent deputations to London to protest against the inequities in administrative affairs of the then Gold Coast. I can go on to French Africa and to other

parts of Africa which have had the same kind of pull for a voice in their own affairs.

For one to be involved in Africa there must be an understanding of the kinds of Africa you go into. I submit my own ignorance, because once you leave one part of Africa and visit the other you are completely at a loss and you must begin your evaluations all over again. First there is an administration which is metropolitan and goes in and proposes that this is the way it should be done. Then there is an Africa wherein a certain community legislates for the country. In both cases there is legislation for the country without the rights of people being taken into consideration. The net result is that in certain communities a minority dominates the opinions and the politics of the people. The African who challenges this is classified as an agitator. Then, suddenly, he is brought from jail where he had been put and sent to international conferences by the metropolitan government and there is a very good chance of this agitator becoming the prime minister of his country.

This may have been all right a generation ago, but in the world struggle that we are involved in and in the social value, which, I believe, everyone in this room is committed to, it is almost too late to go back to 19th century niceties. We must be concerned with an independent Africa which may very often challenge us; with an independent Africa which must determine its budget by spending a great deal of money on education and economic development to make the economy viable in a constructive society. A fact we must face is that 95 per cent of the community is illiterate. I am not trying to find a solution, but as I listened to Dr. Grigg and for the time that I have been involved and been fortunate enough to work with African political leaders, I want to suggest to you that we begin to look behind 1945 and that we begin to see Africa as a social and political entity which began its existence, its ethics, its philosophies a long time before World War II.

I think, in this connection, the AFL-CIO serves in a useful form. Some of the resolutions recently passed—and surely the one on South Africa—are good examples of what I mean. What has happened in South Africa is by far and away the most despicable thing, by western standards, that could have happened. We have shown the world that we are challenging them with respect to human decency. The resolution challenges the segregation policy of South Africa and challenges colonialism as such, even though it may offend some of the people. This is one of the most basic and constructive steps that we can take towards helping the Africans. If we understand some of the motivations, we will certainly attempt to understand them politically, we will try to support them educationally. We will advise or suggest to our Government changes in economic poli-

cies, and perhaps in this hot and cold war we can begin to show the African communities that we see them as people in themselves and not as a part only of a struggle for the political powers of the great dinosaurs.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you very much, Miss Springer. Are there any comments?

GEORGE WEAVER

MR. WEAVER: My name is Mr. George Weaver.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to apologize first at the outset. I hope that my voice lasts through.

I think we are deeply grateful for the thoughtful presentation of Dr. Grigg. I would like to suggest that this is the kind of presentation that not only sounds good as it comes to you, but it warrants reflection because I think there is one admonition that runs through it like a thread, that we should all be aware of. I am referring to the fact that we should clarify our own thinking on what we are for, which is one of the mistakes, grave mistakes, that we made in the early years after World War II in Asia.

A second point, I think, that bears not only reflection but bears constant repetition to ourselves is that it would be a grave mistake to judge and attempt in our efforts to aid, to mould the people that we are trying to assist in our own image. I think it most important that it should be crystal clear what we are for.

I was interested in the presentation of Professor Rowe and the comments therefrom, and there came to mind, based on experience in Asia, working with the people and particularly the workers in Asia, one of our greatest weaknesses is the lack of a clearcut image. Professor Rowe made a suggestion which, I think, was a worthy one and which could be applied to Africa in terms of an exchange program. However, he suggested two countries that should be utilized greater in exchange, Korea and Taiwan. The image of Korea and Taiwan, in many intellectual minds, is actually the other extreme to Communism that we fight. This is pretty close to the top of our conscience, now, with the stories in the responsible daily press about the results of the last election in Korea. We should remember this in Africa, because we have to provide something better than the two extremes that are demonstrated by the Communists at one end and the so-called democracy of Korea opposed to it on the other end. I think that this is a lesson, a lesson of our past in Asia, that should be kept foremost in our mind as we look and prepare and think and plan for Africa.

I'm deeply grateful for the lesson and the admonition contained in Dr. Grigg's address which reminds us of this most important truth.

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Very good. I appreciate your comment and your observations. I'm sure that Dr. Grigg does also.

Now I want to call on Vice President A. Philip Randolph, and then we will have one more speaker to comment. After that we will be through for the day.

I now call on Philip Randolph.

(Applause).

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

MR. RANDOLPH: Mr. Chairman, Brother Meany, fellow members of the Executive Council, and delegates:

I want to commend Dr. Grigg on his brilliant statement, followed by the illuminating comments of our own Maida Springer and also Brother Weaver. I only want to make this comment and that is this: In my opinion 1960 will mark the beginning of the decade of the emergence of a great black world power. This great black world power is a new force in international politics. It is represented by the new free African states. The great question is: What will this new black power do? With respect to the great questions and issues that stir the minds of mankind today, what will they do? Certainly it appears to me that by way of helping these new African states on their way towards progress and achievement, the West should abandon the old doctrine of white supremacy; the belief in racial superiority should no longer exist, and the world of color caste disappear. This is basic to the struggle of the people of the colored world.

No doubt you recently saw the action of thousands of South Africans burning their color passes in order to demonstrate their deep objection to any manifestation whatsoever of racial inferiority on their part.

I believe, that the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization is doing much in leading the way, in giving the Africans a deep sense of our belief in their equality in the family of peoples, and so on. It is most gratifying that we have nine African states in the United Nations. Before this year ends, there may be 13. When you combine the 13 African states with the Asian states you have 29. When the Afro-Asian bloc begins to operate and work in the global stage, you can expect a new climate in the world. We are witnessing one of the great revolutions of mankind. We

are witnessing something new, the new world black bloc. It is a challenge. It has a revolutionary significance, but it has great implications in helping to build a world of peace and a world brotherhood of man.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, Brother Randolph.

Vice President Joe Curran, president of the Maritime National Union, now wishes to say a few words and I call on our vice president.

(Applause).

JOSEPH CURRAN

MR. CURRAN: Mr. Chairman, I know the hour is late. The subject, however, is of great importance and I wanted to say this one word:

I have just returned from London where I attended the Executive Meeting of the International Transport Federation, which represents the transport workers from 60 of the free nations of the world. The most important subject on the agenda there, of course, was the regional activities developed by the C.F.T.U. at their recent meeting in Brussels. The principal question we took up was the question of the boycott in South Africa, which Maida spoke about before and on which a report was made.

It seems that the boycott is being actively supported in a great many countries. In England they had mass meetings throughout the entire country on the boycott in South Africa. A resolution was adopted in the I.T.F. which I subsequently brought back here. The AFL-CIO has the same resolution, to promote the consumer boycott here; and from this point on I think that we are going to begin to see some action on the question of the consumer boycott.

There is only one problem involved in that consumer boycott here. The main product that is bought by this country is gold and the question of how to build up a consumer boycott against gold in a country where we have moved off the gold standard is going to be pretty difficult; but that's the main problem.

Maybe we can find some other products on which to establish a consumer boycott. However, in a country where the principal products are brought to England and the Commonwealth generally is a very effective consumer, a boycott in those countries would be felt.

Another question that arose was strengthening the trade unions in Africa and assisting them in every way because out of trade unions come the leadership that is needed in these countries to help build up the freedom that is beginning to exist

there. One of the places where we decided to do all we could, where there is a real job of starving being done, is the railway situation in Tanganyika. I refer to where the railways workers are ready to go out in Kenya where they are working for 88 shillings a month, which is somewhere in the neighborhood of \$.38 a day. They have been on strike since February and their people are starving. While the practical way, like Maida said and Mr. Grigg said, is to state what we are for. These are the things that we have got to show, and one of the things that we voted on in London was to do an all-out job of assisting in every way that we could to build the trade-union movement, to support these strikers so that they can't be starved out and that they win their strike, because their strike is our strike, and any trade-union movement in Africa is our trade-union movement, and we have to do what we can.

I might say in closing that this was the theme of the American delegation of the I.C.F.T.U. With reference to the American delegation at Brussels led by George Meany, in his presentation to the I.C.F.T.U., this was one of the principal approaches. The I.T.F. meeting was to implement and to put into effect the decisions made at the I.C.F.T.U. If we work on the decisions, we can demonstrate the very things Mr. Grigg and Maida spoke about, what we are for. In this way we can demonstrate to our African trade-union brothers and the Africans generally that there is only one race, and that is the human race!

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: I now want to call upon President Meany to comment on this particular subject.

I now present President Meany.

(Applause.)

GEORGE MEANY

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would just like to take a few moments to comment on the African situation and to express to Dr. Grigg our sincere appreciation for his very scholarly analysis of this situation.

I would like to point out that the AFL-CIO's interest in Africa is to some extent a selfish interest. We believe in free trade unionism. When you ask me what we are for in Africa, we are first of all for free trade unionism.

Our selfish interest is in the stake that we have in extension of free trade unions anywhere in the world. Anywhere that labor loses its freedom, that constitutes, to some extent, a menace to our freedom. To whatever extent we can extend trade union freedom and workers' freedom throughout the world, to that extent, at least, our freedom is secure.

We have been interested in Africa and we have been subject to criticism, I might say, from some of our friends. We are responsible mainly and I say that without any qualifications—the AFL-CIO is mainly responsible for the fact that there is a trade-union college today actively training young Africans in Uganda. That college, of course, is under the aegis of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, but it is there because of the AFL-CIO. It is there because we insisted that the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions establish such a center in Africa. I talked with Arné Geijer and he and Walter Reuther and I had an hour yesterday together and one of the suggestions he brought up was the establishment of a trade-union college somewhere in French Western Africa where the principal language would be French.

We do these things because we want to raise the freedom of workers, and we feel that the best way for workers to be economically free—and they can't be politically free unless they are economically free—is to teach them the rudiments of basic trade unionism. What type of trade union evolves will be their business.

I like the remark that Professor Grigg made here a few moments ago when he said that the Africans have got to be free to make their own mistakes. That, to me, is one of the essentials of freedom. We do not approach the African question with the idea that they must do as we say: that they must mold their particular economy to the image of the American economy; that they must create their trade unions even in the image of the American trade unions. We want them to have knowledge of our trade-union system; we want them to have some concept of the achievements of our system so that they can be guided; but, certainly, we want this to be done by their own decision.

Some of the criticism from our friends abroad has been that we were helping African trade unions who give too much thought to what they term politics. What they mean as politics in the newly emerging countries of Africa is the desire of the people, number one, for self-government, to be free of colonial rule; number two, to create a government of their own choosing, a type of government that they want, not the type of government somebody else wants.

I submit that in this struggle for the establishment of self-governing territories that were formerly under colonial rule and parallel with it an effort to create a free trade-union movement in those countries, it is almost impossible to have a person interested in the establishment of a free trade union in one of these formerly colonial territories and not at the same time have a person who is interested in the type of government under which he and his fellow workers are going to live.

For example, say that this was now a colonial country and

that we were interested in independent self-government. Would not every person in this room who is interested in free trade unions and the establishment and advancement of a free trade-union idea, would he not or would she not be interested in what type of government came to this territory after colonial rule was gone?

So I say that as far as politics is concerned, sometimes we hear it said that these trade-union leaders are not really interested in trade unions and that they want to be prime ministers or they want to hold political posts in these new governments. I don't know whether that's true or not, but the point is that if it is true, to what extent does that detract from the idea of the establishment of a free trade union?

The AFL-CIO has taken the position that we are for free unions in Africa in these newly emerging countries as an integral part of a system of self-government; that the very mark of free government is a free trade union. If you do not have a free trade union, then, more or less, it is axiomatic that you do not have a free government. We do not want to impose on our African friends any particular type of government, any particular type of trade union, except that we want it to be free. What they do politically, provided it is to fight for a free type of government, is their business. We want them to be free to make their own mistakes.

We have no thought of collecting a per capita tax in Africa. We are over there. We have our departments following up this work. We are promoting the advancement of these people inside the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

We are promoting their well-being to whatever extent we can by putting pressure on our own government. I might say to Joe Curran that as far as the gold question is concerned, we intend to officially request our Government to withhold its purchase of South African gold for a little while.

(Applause.)

I would like to impress you again that all of this activity is for the purpose of allowing the people of Africa to emerge into freedom in a manner of their own choosing.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, President Meany.

Now, before we conclude today's session, I would like to remind the conferees that tomorrow, April 20, at the morning session, commencing approximately at 9:30, we will have the privilege of hearing General John B. Medaris. He will discuss "The State

of Our National Defense." Perhaps many of you will recall that General Medaris was the chief engineer of our missile and rocket program.

He will be followed by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, who will discuss "Germany: the Core of the European Problem and the Summit."

I therefore encourage and urge all of you conferees to return to our conference in the morning.

Thank you very much for your patience and for your attention and for your unselfish participation.

(At 4:30 p. m. the conference was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Wednesday, April 20, 1960.)

PROCEEDINGS

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION

Wednesday, April 20, 1960

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: I apologize for the slight delay, but I was waiting for the members of the conference to come into the meeting room.

This morning we will resume the program as shown in the printed copy that you have in your possession. These programs were distributed to all conferees. The subject that we will take up at this moment is "The State of Our National Defense."

We are exceedingly fortunate in having with us this morning as our guest speaker a very distinguished member of our military establishment. General Medaris comes to us after a long career in our military establishment wherein he served with distinction and honor.

General Medaris has worked closely in the development of our missile program, and I know he will have a message of great importance and tremendous interest to the members of our conference. I am happy to present to you at this time General Medaris.

(Applause.)

GEN. JOHN B. MEDARIS

"The State of Our National Defense"

GENERAL MEDARIS: Distinguished gentlemen on the platform, Mr. Reuther:

To me it is more than a pleasure to be here this morning. I am personally inspired by the fact that you gentlemen, who have such great influence in our affairs today and upon our people, would take the time and make the effort—and it is an effort to

study these abstruse matters that are, after all, going to have such a bearing on your future—to call upon me to address you.

Of course, I had to ask myself the question when the subject was assigned to me—"The State of Our National Defense"—the defense of what?

We have to recognize, first, I think, that we have something to defend and just what that is. If we are interested in the defense of a piece of territory, that is one thing; but I don't think that is what we are interested in. I think that we, as people, have interests far beyond that. What we are really interested in is not defending but propagating a way of life.

Any intelligent consideration of the state of our national defense demands that we first define our objectives. This is essential in order that we have something against which to measure our position.

There has been so much said and written on this particular topic in recent months that even the so-called experts appear to be confused. To the ordinary citizen with many more personal matters to occupy his attention, the situation must be totally unintelligible. Nevertheless, it is urgently important to the nation's welfare that the basic facts be known and recognized, however painful and difficult may be the processes of digging them out.

I believe it was Walter Lippmann who observed that the citizen of a democracy must not avoid his own responsibility, but neither can he assume the responsibilities of government. He must choose his governors, and then must rely upon those governors to conduct the affairs of government. However, in order that he may intelligently choose his leaders, the citizen must keep informed on the major issues that directly affect the progress and the security of his country, and must inform himself as to the attitude of the prospective leaders with respect to those issues. It is certainly not unusual that the defense issue has been injected into the political arena. The resulting challenging discussion in the heat of a political campaign can be helpful, but only if the participants are sincerely concerned with what is best for the nation, and if they can resist the temptation to traffic with defense issues for purely political advantage.

The time available today will not permit a detailed examination of all of the million and one elements of our total defense structure. Consequently, I shall limit my discussion to the major elements of military power, pointing out some of the implications that are inherent in its application, and attempt to draw rather obvious conclusions which may interest this audience.

Let me begin by suggesting rational criteria against which we

may measure the state of our defense in terms of the real and of the potential dangers that threaten us. However, if we restrict our considerations to the specific elements of normal military power, we will be ignoring other threats that certainly can be disastrously costly if they are not recognized and counted. Some of those dangers are very remote from the traditional forms of destruction. Some are as elusive as human motives and human desires. Others, difficult to understand, may be based on the advancing technology and the conquest of outer space, representing a new dimension, which for those able to understand the implications, has gravely altered the fundamental concepts of strategy.

Threats to Our National Security

As a first measurement of the exact purpose of our national defense, we must identify the types of threats that are known to exist, and also those that we may anticipate. These are not all dangers derived from military force. Some of the most perilous are internal in their origin and therefore difficult to recognize. These may be found in the measure and strength of the subversive elements that are constantly at work among us, including not only a subversion of our belief in our own kind of free society, but also the equally dangerous subversion that saps our strength and our will to defend our way of life by knowingly or unknowingly foreseeing deficiencies in our society that operate to impair our unity.

Other threats, still short of armed attack, may be external in their origin, raised against us by the attitudes and international operations of other powers. These are sometimes highly selective in terms of the targets in our society against which they are directed. By being selective they may tend to create an attitude of indifference on the part of most of our people and a tendency towards division. It is often difficult to recognize that a shaft directed against any element of our free society is, in fact, a threat to every one of us. Many of these threats are in terms of provocation short of war and yet highly inimical to our national interest. I'm sure you all know history of that kind is being recorded daily in our newspapers.

The consequences of these external threats may be such as to endanger our individual citizens or the property of those citizens, or the people and institutions of nations allied with us in the struggle to preserve freedom. In such a threat, the pirates of the Barbary Coast put this young nation to a severe test, when the United States had just begun to emerge from colonial status to assume the stature of a potential world power. The timely, vigorous and decisive action then taken did much to establish our right to be considered a sovereign nation and to enjoy with others the freedom of the seas.

Today, provocation and assaults upon our sovereignty have become almost daily occurrences in this period of burgeoning nationalism. Rather like brawling youngsters not yet accustomed to the responsibilities of maturity and independence, our citizens and their property become attractive targets for those who are first trying their strength. It is like the campaign in the daily newspapers against father: you whittle him down to where he doesn't amount to much.

In our naive desire to make common cause with those who seek independence, we seem to have blithely tossed aside what should be our proper concern with the preservation of our dignity of sovereign power. We seem to forget that American citizens must have the right to expect fair treatment everywhere and to expect proper consideration for their property.

Before I am accused of advocating colonialism, let me add that I do not deny the right of any country to embark upon a program of internal reform which may include the nationalization of property. But I do believe that when such action is taken, our citizens should find their Government adamantly insisting upon the proper respect for and the protection of their rightful interests. Where the basic rights of the citizens of other sovereign countries are concerned in such national action, and when those rights have arisen from actions taken in good faith, it does not seem to me that any nation can honestly claim the right to determine the value of property it intends to confiscate, and that such determination should be the proper function of an international tribunal.

Now if our Government cannot or does not insist upon adequate safeguards for the rights of our citizens, how can we, as a nation, logically expect those citizens to be zealous in the protection of our country, which is in fact the sum of its people? It must also be understood that any threat against our allies requires that we stand solidly and move promptly to fulfill the solemn commitments that have been undertaken in our mutual interests. The powers of massive destruction have made this an age of great wars and this, in turn, demands that we maintain close and friendly alliance with those of common basic purpose. Such alliances can be preserved and strengthened only if we are ready and willing to honor all reciprocal obligations in any time of danger, whether the danger stems from the threat of military power or from any other external effort to impair the strength of our friends.

Kind of Defense Needed

Having considered the wide range of threats against which we must prepare ourselves, I suggest as a second measurement of our defense posture that the sum of our military power must

represent such an assortment of resources as to permit judicious and selective application of the means necessary to stop incipient trouble in its tracks and prevent the spread of the problem. Our military resources must be of a nature that will permit the careful choice of the appropriate surgeon's scalpel to meet the immediate need. Most significantly, to be consistent with our nature, our military power must be susceptible of intelligent usage under reasonable restraint, and not such as to be useless unless impulsively applied in such a way as to create more havoc than we can possibly cure afterward.

In weighing the position of our defense against this second yardstick, I am led inevitably to the conclusion that something is sadly lacking. For example, funds have been liberally provided to design, develop and launch earth satellites equipped with advanced electronic systems for the purpose of augmenting our means of detection. Even more funds have been provided to develop other early warning systems to extend far out the radar picket fence guarding our perimeter.

The missions of both the earthbound and the space systems are to detect and identify ballistic missiles as soon as possible after—and I emphasize the word “after”—they are launched from pads thousands of miles away. No one can quarrel with the principle involved—to obtain vital information about any possible nuclear weapon that can traverse continents and oceans in less time than I shall be talking to you, but the record fails to indicate what, other than immediate resort to the whole course of retaliatory nuclear annihilation, we propose to do if we detect any such missile presumably fired against this continent. Can we take time to make certain that this is not a mistake? Can we stave off the requirement for flash decision by attempting to meet and shoot down such an apparent threat? Such an approach would seem to be that dictated by reasonable prudence. Yet funds are denied for the production and deployment of the only presently visible potential means by which we might gain time to think. We must then accept the incoming destruction as inevitable and lose the first battle, or resort to the flaming sword of retaliation, thereby admitting that all is lost and condemning mankind to Armageddon.

Surely a positive and certain retaliatory capability is the best and most effective deterrent against the possibility of an allout, massive attack bringing sudden annihilation. But if the purpose of that capability is achieved, the weapon itself will never be used. Conversely, if that power of destruction is ever used, it has failed of its purpose. Yet there is no hesitancy to appropriate all the money that is claimed to be required to develop and maintain a retaliatory power on a scale sufficient to destroy the world and all its people. I suggest that this is contrary to our overriding purpose, which is constructive and not destruc-

tive. To maintain and further that constructive purpose, we must devote our energies and resources to finding a suitable alternative to instantaneous and massive retaliatory destruction.

Our Defense Must Be Selective

As a third approach to measuring the state of our national defense as related to the threats against us, I insist that we must develop and maintain the capability to move selectively as the exact circumstances demand and to counter any threat to our freedom and safety or our position as a sovereign nation. Such a capability for lightning intervention must exist and it must be known to exist and it must be sufficient to meet and cope with any threat anywhere. I am convinced that it does not exist. Whatever effective and selective military power we have developed in our Army, the capability of moving the necessary force to the required point is far from sufficient. Furthermore, the force responsible for meeting limited threats anywhere in the world does not have direct access to the means of transport, but must petition from those who have what airlift is available the means essential to carrying out the basic mission of the Army. I will have more to say on that subject a little later.

Clash Between Ways of Life

Fourthly, if we are to correctly measure the state of our defenses, we must recognize that our way of life is embroiled in a struggle to the finish, against a resourceful and ruthless opponent. The clash is not between nations, it is between two ways of life that have completely divergent attitudes with respect to the position of the human individual and organized society. One philosophy denies any importance to the individual and considers that individual merely the creature of an all-powerful and omniscient state which is free to exploit him and his abilities and his future as it wishes. The other philosophy, which is basic to our whole attitude, considers the individual as the source from which the state derives its power, and contends that the nation exists primarily to preserve the God-given rights and individual dignities of its citizens. The field of conflict between these opposite philosophies is so broad and so profound that it encompasses every element of international power—military, economic, diplomatic, political, psychological and spiritual.

Clausewitz, an authority on warfare, observed that in human conflict the moral is to the physical as three is to one. Three-fourths of our strength must, therefore, rest on the human courage and stamina of a free people, and will be given substance only by the will of those people. Basic to our total defense posture is the unquestioned public will to use our national power if necessary, and without delay. Our present stature is the re-

sult of a continuing national determination to resist aggression whenever it has been raised against us.

Efficient Decision-Making Process Necessary

This latter condition leads directly to my fifth and final yardstick for the measurement of our defense posture. Whatever may be our determination, or how carefully tailored may be our defense resource, unless these strengths are supported by a process of national decision that will permit the rapid and decisive use, or restraint of military power, the resources themselves are of no value. Our fifth criteria is, therefore, concerned with the efficiency of the decision-making process.

Once more the fact is not consistent with the need. Our process of arriving at decision has been so confused, weakened, delayed and compromised by the multiplicity of forces acting upon it as to be a real hazard in any attempt to provide efficient national defense. It seems to me that a great part of the delay in our process in arriving at vital decisions is traceable to the intrusions on a day-to-day basis of a multiplicity of pressure groups into the executive processes of directing the current actions of the Government. By their very nature, all pressure groups are divisive, since each supports one set of desires at the expense of other objectives. When these varied pressures act continually upon the executive process, the result is the achievement of a balance of total compromise dictated by expediency. The end product is relative inaction. It is as if you had a metal ball suspended in a sphere and you put enough anti-magnetic attraction on each side that it just stayed in the center, and until the forces were out of balance it would not move. Perhaps we forget that indecision is, of itself, a decision, and that in the light of history a vigorous mistake is many times more effective than no action. If we, as a people, continue to exert such daily pressures as to vitiate the capabilities of those we have elected to make our decisions, there is little possibility that our defense structure can be precisely tailored to our requirements, or that our national power can be promptly used as needed.

Varying and opposing pressures stemming from such considerations as the desire to preserve the status quo, to support current employment levels in specific areas, the innate fear of technological displacement and other such elements seem to me to do more to distort and upset proper decisions with respect to the basic elements of national defense than any other group of factors. Delays in decision pyramid the cost of new weapons. Literally, we buy obsolescence and pay a staggering price for it. Our programs seem often to be shaped to suit the needs of specific industries rather than being tailored to the dictates of weapons requirements. We seem to be determined to use exist-

ing skills without regard to the basic question of whether those skills are advancing our technology and our production capability or holding us back. We achieve political and economic peace, but we do so at the risk, gentlemen, of total international impotence and finally of military defeat.

As I turn now for a moment to the valuation of what we have achieved by way of major weapons systems, I would ask you to look again at the real objective of our national defense. It must be constructive and not purely destructive, otherwise it fails in its basic mission. Against that particular objective, I suggest that the current practice of handing out all the money anyone believes he needs to increase and pyramid the capability for atomic retaliation is a sheer waste of our national resources. At the same time, the current refusal to provide money for the means that might allow us to "stop and think" invites disaster.

We Need Mobile, Flexible Power

I am quite convinced that at this moment, we have enough destructive capability measured in pure military power to deter any allout attack. On the other hand, I would insist that we do not have a sufficient, available, and mobile flexible power to achieve other and more desirable objectives. The problem, however, is not of this moment. By the nature of the critical lead time involved in any change of direction in the development and production of modern weapons systems, there is little we can do of importance which would substantially change our military posture during the next four to five years. My concern, therefore, relates to the military situation as it will exist in 1964-1965, rather than in 1960. We must make the decisions today that will provide the capabilities we may need most urgently five years from now. In other directions than purely military effort, we can, of course, act in much less time.

The nation's defense today appears to be dedicated to the philosophy of over-kill, of wholly unnecessary redundancy and of costly duplication in the provision of means to execute massive destruction. Almost without regard to anything a potential enemy might do, I hope we can come to an understanding of two basic facts:

First, any weapon is useful so long as it is capable of doing the job for which it was designed. It does not become obsolete simply because it is possible to make a better weapon. It only becomes obsolete if it cannot do its job, if it is impotent in the military field in the sense in which it was made. We are spending not millions but billions to replace weapons solely because we know how to make a 1960 model and not because the 1960 model can do any more killing, or do it any better, than the 1956 model.

Secondly, our total weapons of retaliation are quite sufficient so long as they are capable of inflicting unacceptable damage upon any aggressor. Anything beyond that quantity or quality is unnecessary and should not be provided at the expense of more important objectives.

In my considered opinion, the combination of atomic striking power represented by the Strategic Air Command and other elements of the retaliatory capability satisfies a reasonable counter-strike requirement. Given any means by which 50 to 100 megatons of atomic destruction can be placed on the territory of a potential enemy, it is obvious that the potential damage is so severe that he cannot afford to pay the price. Beyond that reasonable amount of assurance, and perhaps with even less, there is no further justification for continuing to pile up relatively useless destructive force.

I am forced to conclude that the approved programs for the development, production and deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles involving many billions of dollars will go far beyond the basic need. If those programs are carried out to the last rocket, we will have many times more than enough to guarantee unacceptable damage upon any enemy.

Three separate ICBM systems are simply too many. By what logic we continue to pursue two more beyond one already having operational capability, I do not understand. It appears that the fear engendered by Soviet rockets has destroyed prudent judgment for it is exclusively in this area of massive retaliation that such expensive duplication is permitted to exist. A prominent Senator recently estimated that our present stockpile of atomic weapons represented the equivalent of 10 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth. That's right—and he was right, both ways. Maybe more than that. I don't know, but it is at least that much. It seems to me that we are preparing not for retaliation, but for obliteration.

At the same time, a single land-based ICBM system will, in the next fiscal year, require the further expenditure of approximately one and a half billion dollars. A like amount will be required to support another system which has yet to be deployed. Half a billion more will be spent in the next year for a brand-new ICBM system that is supposed to obsolete its costly predecessors in a few years. The figures assume almost astronomical proportions. Since 1950 approximately 25 billion dollars have been spent for all our missile programs. The overall investment in two liquid propellant ICBM systems is estimated to be nearly 10 billion dollars, and this will buy more than twice the amount of nuclear destruction that I mentioned as being required.

The Polaris submarine-transported system will cost approxi-

mately 9.9 billion dollars to provide 45 submarines costing about \$100,000,000 each with the required complement of missiles at a million dollars apiece.

I think one is forced to ponder the overall impact of these programs upon the national economy and to recognize the not-too-remote possibility that we might find ourselves armed for total human destruction, and with little else.

Polaris System Best Bet

Personally, I consider the Polaris system the best bet for the retaliatory striking power for the near future. It offers the advantage of concealment to a much more realistic degree than the entombment of concrete-protected, land-based missiles. Its mobility is far superior to any land-based system, if ever such a system is made mobile. Its range coupled with its underwater capability provides a flexibility that will meet most requirements, so that Polaris, again, in reasonable quantities, combined with a very reasonable number of land-based ICBMs capable of striking the few targets beyond its reach, would, in my opinion, suffice for the counter-strike capability needed by this country. Those who play the numbers racket by advocating more and more ICBMs without regard to the limited nature of the requirement, and with an apparent total disregard of the cost in time, labor, material and money, I believe are rendering a disservice to the nation.

At the same time, our geographic situation cries out for a self-contained globally-mobile, light-weight force which could deal promptly with any localized threat to our security or that of our allies. The nation should assign the highest priority to the provision of a sufficient airlift to move in one single motion, a highly trained force, fully equipped with its own weapons support, that could stand alone until more power could be brought to bear, if necessary. Strategic mobility, not inflexibility, and precision forces rather than massive and heavyweight equipment are the logical backbone for our future defense structure.

The alternative is to man heavily all the frontiers of the world. Even with the assistance of our allies, we cannot achieve the objective in sufficient force to meet whatever threat could be marshalled against us at a single time and place of an enemy's choice.

Central reserves with global mobility are the only practical solution to meet our present commitments. If that kind of protective force demanded by the foreseeable future cannot be provided, the alternative is to reduce our international commitments. If we must take that course, we must forsake some of our allies and we automatically reduce our international influence.

Where would the withdrawal stop? In Fortress America?

That was an empty dream of the past and is completely unattainable at a time when fast action, world-wide communications and transportation, and long-range striking power are not a monopoly of the free world. We cannot live alone when the initiative and the unmistakable means to impose their will upon less powerful states are in the hands of those who would destroy freedom.

Adequate Defense Against ICBM's

As I turn now to assess our defensive measures as opposed to the counter-strike and the requirement for mobile, self-contained and self-sufficient forces to carry the fight to the enemy, I would like to paraphrase an old cliché. When offensive capabilities are equal, the best offense is a good defense. Certainly the most urgent requirement is adequate defense against the nuclear-tipped ICBM.

The long-range missile has assumed fearsome proportions because it has not been intelligently evaluated for what it is, a man-made device capable of being defeated by a superior technology. Because we have allowed fear to dominate our reaction, so-called organized civil defense planning is thoroughly unrealistic, impractical and entirely contradictory to our national philosophy. The concept of mass evacuation of high density population centers and the burial of our citizenry in deep shelters would negate any kind of positive reaction to attack. It would convert our people into a horde of rabbits scurrying for warrens where they would cower helplessly waiting the coming of a conqueror. How much more logical it would be to defeat the menace which engenders irrational fear.

Certainly, and most desperately, we need a positive civil defense program that will teach the people how to react in emergency, how to fight panic, how to prevent chaos—not how to create panic and how to create chaos. They want to know how to do these things which are essential to national survival. That is the kind of positive action that would appeal to the American people.

In the area of defensive weaponry, I will never accept the policy by which our resources are poured into a monstrous counter-strike capability, while the funds necessary to establish reasonable protection for our citizens against that very threat are withheld. Without a means to defend them, we fail to protect their will to resist. We deny them reason to fight back.

Certainly, it may not be technically possible to construct an absolute defense against ballistic missile attacks, but I insist that we can develop a weapon of sufficient capability to tip the balance of power. When we can do something the aggressor cannot do, we shall have a positive deterrent.

Consider if you will the awesome consequences of unlimited nuclear devastation. There would be little sanity in destroying half of Russia and Asia if, before that judgment were delivered, the 20 largest cities of the United States suffered wholesale slaughter and monstrous damage. All that would be left to us would be no more than an act of savage revenge.

What are we planning to do with those cities—with New York, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and their sister metropolitan centers? They cannot be hardened, concealed, depopulated or dispersed. They cannot be lightly written off as the anticipated price of surprise assault. The cold, pitiless light of logic dictates that we find the means to protect them against sudden annihilation. The need for such a defense against air attack has been recognized by the development and deployment of guided missile systems which protect major population centers and strategic targets. They are ringed with batteries of reliable missiles that can defeat a single bomber, or an entire squadron, including the highest performance jets known or anticipated.

Nike Zeus Answer to Missile Threat

We have one present answer to the more formidable ballistic missile threat. This is the Nike Zeus, the anti-missile system now in advanced development. Everybody admits that at the present time it is the only conceivable and positive defense for the next decade. Better means may be devised in the future as the result of active research, but the nature of them is not nearly sufficiently known at this time to warrant the commitment of resources to their development. The lead time which must be expended in the genesis of any such complex weapons system compels me to conclude that no really new approach could be available for deployment prior to 1970. Meantime the inhabitants of our concentrated industrial centers are living under the dread shadow of the nuclear bomb suspended only by the thin thread of an enemy's rationality.

For every day that we delay committing the Zeus system to production we pay a day's penalty in its availability. Gentlemen, I don't work for any contractor or any Nike Zeus.

(Applause).

I'm talking as an American citizen who believes that the citizens of our cities have a right to some defense. Those who delay that action assume a burdensome responsibility for the survival of millions of men, women and children. And remember that our major centers of industry and commerce are themselves vital factors to survival in time of war.

Until my retirement from the active Army February 1st, I directed the anti-missile system development for the Ordnance

Corps. Based upon my personal knowledge, I can assure you that the immediate and discernible problem of straightforward defense against ballistic missiles is fully in hand. I am likewise convinced that additional defense against more sophisticated weapons that may be developed can and will be solved at least as fast as they can be brought against us.

It is strange that the urgency which has motivated the ballistic missile programs seems to be lacking in the indecision surrounding Zeus. Great virtue has been ascribed to the technique of production, the training of troops and preparation for deployment in both IRBM and ICBM programs. So-called concurrency has been widely advertised as the answer to the rapid obsolescence brought on by swift technological progress. Yet that policy has not been applied, through no fault of those managing the program, in the case of a weapon of such tremendous importance as is the Zeus.

Too much time has been wasted in arguing the need for demonstrating the full effectiveness of the Zeus system before initiating the production of scarce components. The fundamental issue has been submerged in a controversy between military and civilian judgment. It can be stated in the simplest terms. Are we to make an effort to defend the major cities of the country against ballistic missiles during the next ten years? That's a very simple question. I say that we cannot afford to delay any longer in getting about the job of having the best weapon we could find put into position so as to contribute something to the defense of our population. I would not have on my conscience the responsibility for withholding affirmative decision.

All too often, in our weapons programs, necessary decisions have come belatedly or have been indefinitely postponed because someone failed to understand the full meaning of the consequences. An example may point the moral. The swept sky strategy could double the efficiency of our air defense. On the contrary, in the present state of those defenses, every friendly interceptor plane become a hazard. It is nothing more than a liability assessed upon the air force commander who cannot bring his guided missiles to bear with maximum effectiveness lest he shoot down a friendly aircraft.

Recently a former Secretary of Defense, Robert A. Lovett, testified to the problem he encountered in the defense structure. I want to quote his statement:

"The derogation of the authority of the individual in government and the exaltation of the anonymous mass has resulted in a noticeable lack of decisiveness. Committees cannot effectively replace the decision-making power of the individual who takes the oath of office. Nor can committees provide the essential qualities of leadership. Some, occas-

sionally, serve those in authority as a device to postpone or avoid making decisions themselves; others sometimes seem to spring into being because higher authority does not fully trust the judgment of the subordinate executive. But two heads are not always better than one—particularly if they are growing on the same body."

(Laughter).

That's the end of the quotation, and I love it.

(Laughter).

It is high time we replaced delay with action and indecision with firm leadership!

We Cannot Be Second Best in Space

Any discussion of national defense in the Space Age must consider the military implications of the extension of human activity into this new environment. I disagree heartily with those who say that because we cannot define the exact nature of the space threat, we have no instant requirement for developing a military potential to counter it. We must release earthbound imaginations. We dare not attempt to limit our appraisal because we cannot fully understand the possible extensions of space technology. The lesson of history is plain. Wherever man can exist and carry with him a tolerable environment into a new dimension, there we may eventually anticipate that he will get into a fight. That has already occurred on the land, on and under the sea, and in the air envelope that surrounds the earth.

Until the space environment is fully understood, we cannot understand its full implications. I believe that the free world must attain and maintain no less than a parity, and preferably a margin of clear superiority, in space exploration and exploitation. I consider the decision to achieve parity and eventual superiority one of the most momentous of our day. We are living in a time when technological victories can be just as important as victory on the battlefield. Conversely, technological inferiority can be equally as costly as inferior military power:

If this grim competition for the mastery of space is as critically urgent as I believe it to be, we face two alternatives. Either we must spend more in dollars and effort to expedite and expand our program, cutting back every unnecessary effort in the process, or we must find a way to increase the efficiency of our program by a substantial margin. The haphazard organization of both missile and space programs has militated against efficiency and invited duplication. They are functionally splintered among four agencies, each of which acts almost independently of the others. One is located outside the Department of

Defense. The other three active participants are the three armed services.

In attempting to resolve the organizational problem, the Defense Department revised service missions in the fall of last year. The Air Force was assigned developmental and operational responsibilities for the military space program. The Army was given the task of developing a communications satellite system and the Navy was authorized to develop a navigational system—the satellite. This was supposed to settle old controversies. Actually, all it did was to start confusion and another go-around of rivalry. The apparent assumption that Air Force alone had the capability with which to prosecute its assigned missions was totally erroneous. The other services were effectively barred from contributing their talents and facilities in support of a united effort. The idea of a joint committee was rejected. No technically competent authority directs both the vehicle and the payload programs. I repeat: No technically competent authority directs both the vehicle and the payload programs, so we have to have a committee. Consequently, the decisive and driving force demanded for success is lacking. No one is totally responsible for the overall mission and what is everybody's business can only end up being nobody's business.

An equally mistaken notion sparked the creation of a national space agency. The pleasing but fallacious theory was that scientific explorations and military space requirements could be neatly defined and compartmented. I can find no basis in fact or reason for such a conclusion. There is so little difference between the two programs from the purely technical viewpoint that separation cannot be justified. A few illustrations will suffice to demonstrate this conclusion.

Both must utilize reaction type engines, liquid or solid, whose operation requires rather sophisticated control. This characteristic is fundamental to every rocket-powered vehicle, whether it be a short-range ballistic missile or a more ambitious vehicle transporting an interplanetary probe. Development and operational features stem from the same technology in all of these systems. Similarly, the control systems which may be carried on the board or located in ground stations derived from common parentage. I could cite as many examples of commonality as there are components. There is a common need to obtain electronic propagation from the missile or space vehicle throughout its course, a like requirement for guided systems that perform identical functions, a common need to maintain long-range communications between the vehicle and points on earth.

The civilian space program has depended almost entirely upon

the technology developed by the military services for its vehicles, its communication systems, its guidance and control mechanisms and for propulsion elements. The two programs are inter-related even from the standpoint of scientific interest and knowledge. Scientific exploration is by no means inconsistent with military objectives as our competitors behind the Iron Curtain realized long ago. New military technology is born out of scientific discoveries. All the military services support and encourage basic research to the limit of the comparatively modest sums allowed them for this purpose.

Finally, and I consider this a particularly cogent consideration, the military and civilian missile and space programs depend upon the same physical and manpower resources. There is no engineering or production facility employed in important space projects that is not simultaneously involved in one or more military programs. The continuing exploitation of outer space must make use of the same facilities and manpower now being utilized in the nation defense program. Yet by arbitrary choice apparently dictated by humanistic or political considerations, we have tried to divide the indivisible. It costs us money right out of our pocket.

Glaring inconsistencies are evident in the compromise solution. While a military service has the operational mission in space, it does not have the responsibility for development of the large rockets, or "super boosters" as they are called, that are required for manned space flight. In October, 1959, it was decided to entrust the super-rocket program solely to civilian management. The Air Force must obtain from that source the bigger rockets it will need in the reasonably near future for any operation of man in space. It is indeed a queer turn of events when an agency outside the control of the Defense Establishment is the sole source for procurement of material essential to a vital weapons development program.

Missile and Space Effort Should Be Unified

I believe the one best way to assure success, to eliminate duplication and waste, is to unify the entire missile and space effort. It is the only guarantee against failure and the only protection against the possibility of bankrupting the country as the proportions of current and projected investments in the enormously costly retaliatory capability portend.

If it is to be truly unified, the missile and space programs, military and civilian, must be placed within the framework of the Department of Defense. In keeping with the trend encouraged by the Congress in recent years, it would be entirely logical to establish a Joint Command under the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, to which should be entrusted the undivided responsibility for directing the major missile and space activities.

This, alone, would permit maximum utilization of the expert talent and the unique facilities administered by the three services. The scientific community could be represented at the command level to assure adequate consideration of science interests. Thus we could align individual and national objectives and the overall program would benefit from a joint and coordinated approach. I recommended to the Congress a few weeks ago that thorough consideration should be given to the proposed course of action. I'm not fixed on the subject. I would support any other proposal that offers the assurance of unity in the face of this most urgent end. I do not believe that our present course of action offers any assurance of unity. In fact, I think it is divisive by its very nature.

In summary, I will restate my conclusions concerning the state of the national defense:

We possess more than adequate retaliatory capability to inflict unacceptable damage upon a potential enemy.

We are needlessly wasting resources in the duplication and enlargement of that capability at the expense of more useful and therefore more important objectives.

We have singularly failed to recognize the urgency of providing the only visible means by which to protect our major centers of population, and the counter-strike power, against the threat of nuclear annihilation.

We have largely ignored the immediate requirement to provide self-sufficient forces with adequate mobility to deal with the likelier threats of less than total aggression.

Excesses in the massive retaliatory capability and shortcomings in other forms of military power instantly available for use have endangered the nation's security and vitiated the free world's collective strength.

Compromise and expediency dictated by pressure groups have adversely affected our defense posture.

The splintering of the missile and space programs has delayed progress at enormous cost and lowered our international prestige.

In closing, I would emphasize that none of these problems is incurable. Timely, intelligent and forceful decisions arrived at in the national interest can undo much of the mischief though they cannot recover lost time or squandered resources. The cure lies within us and it can be applied through the normal processes of democratic government.

I would say to you as individuals and as leaders of men that our people must awaken to the obligations and duties of citizenship at this time when other free men look to them for leadership. They must recognize that they are citizens first, and that selfish or local interests, or the peculiar special requirements of any one group within the framework of our citizenry must take second place. They must fully understand the nature of the total threat to their security and to their freedom and that this threat is by no means limited to the military sphere. Selfishness, softness, lack of understanding and disinterest can be just as deadly to America's future as any lack of military power. The crises of these times demand patriotism of the highest order. If our people understand this fact, I have no doubt that they will rise fully to the occasion and demonstrate that the strength of free men is far superior to any system of slavery.

Thank you.

(Rising applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: May I have your attention now.

I think your reaction to the address of General Medaris is best interpreted by your conduct following the close of his speech. I couldn't help getting the impression from the way you reacted that he brought you information of startling value and that you enjoyed everything he said.

I want to tell the General, on your behalf, that he has made a tremendous contribution to our conference.

(Applause.)

We appreciate it.

I'm sure, General Medaris, that those who had the privilege of hearing you this morning will ponder the questions you presented: you certainly did a job of stimulating our thinking upon the problem that you presented.

Thank you very much for coming.

We will continue with the usual procedure this morning. The Chair will be glad to recognize any conferee who wishes to comment or ask questions for the next thirty minutes.

EVELYN McGURIN (I.E.U. representative from Canada): I would like to say a few words. I think that this presentation of this address was very nice, and I enjoyed listening to it very much, but I would like to also point out that in Canada the labor force is negotiating and working towards world peace through negotiations for disarmament programs. Some of the money being used for bombs to destroy the people, the American people as well as the Canadian people, and the whole world, can be used

for better purposes and could be used to build our people rather than destroy them. I think that gradually—sure, we can make better bombs, but while we keep on trying to see who can make the best bomb to destroy us all, it will not help us in the end.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, Sister McGurin.

Any further comments? Any questions?

Well, General, we have very little desire among the conferees to question what you had to say, generally.

The Chair now wishes to recognize Vice President James B. Carey.

JAMES CAREY

MR. CAREY: General Medaris has set forth very clearly our capabilities for annihilation. We have the weapons to deter any enemy or potential enemy.

I wonder, however, if, in the face of that, some consideration should not be given to what steps we will have to take to rehabilitate and reconstruct the economies that an atomic war would so effectively destroy. Our nation since World War II has had to make tremendous expenditures to alleviate and reconstruct not only all our allies but all our ex-enemy countries. We have participated vigorously in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the economies of Italy, of Austria, of Germany and Japan and other nations involved in the war.

It seems to me that possibly some consideration might be given in advance of total destruction to doing what we have ably demonstrated our ability to do after destruction. This may be a sound suggestion in view of the participation of the American labor movement in the Marshall Plan which was pointed up by President Meany as a great contribution to the peace of the world and as a deterrent against Communism in European countries.

I wonder if we couldn't have a Marshall Plan that could be useful today in these emerging countries of Asia and Africa? Think, if you will, of the \$19 billion or so expended in the Marshall Plan. Couldn't we expend a few billion dollars in these new developing countries? Twenty-three countries came into existence in the 40's and 50's. Some eight more are scheduled for the year of 1960. Some others will come into existence in 1961 and 1962. I question whether our military establishment today can set forth their requirements for 1961, 1962 and 1963 to those who produce the goods. I doubt if it is possible to anticipate what our military needs will be several years hence.

We know we have the ability to produce these weapons of war and, of course, a great part of the expenditure for such weapons is in the area of design and engineering. But if a small portion of the tremendous talent possessed by this country could be used successfully to convert seawater for irrigation in some of the countries of Asia, Africa and South America, what a tremendous contribution that would be in specifically meeting their needs. Now that we have attained this position of being able to deter and to counter any offensive action against us, is it not possible that our nation making these large expenditures could undertake such an offer, that the people of this nation could freely make such an offer.

Perhaps there are other ways not just of defending ourselves in counter-attack but to strengthen ourselves in negotiations to avoid the necessity of using these powerful weapons of annihilation. It would seem to me that we can and should develop some methods of avoiding the use of these retaliatory weapons.

Some way, some how we must identify ourselves with the future of peace and, of course, we must recognize the great expenditure that follows a tremendous war in rehabilitating our former enemies. I would suggest that all is not bad.

It seems to me that now is the time to see if we can devote some of the initiative and talent that have been so successful in finding weapons of war to finding some weapons of peace.

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, Brother Carey.

Is there any further discussion? Are there any further questions?

If not, we will pass on to the next item on the program.

The next subject to be discussed is "Germany—the Core of the European Problem and the Summit."

Before presenting our guest speaker, I should like to read to the conference a cable that President George Meany received from Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of the Federal Republic of Germany under date of April 19.

"Mr. George Meany, National Labor Conference on Foreign Affairs, Commodore Hotel, New York, N. Y.

"The unswerving position of the American trade-union movement is of great significance to the entire free world. I wish the Conference on World Affairs fullest success and to you and all its participants.

"Best regards, Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany."

(Applause.)

Our guest speaker who will discuss the subject and now to be presented to the conference is Dr. Henry A. Kissinger. He is presently the Director of the International Seminar at Harvard University Center for International Affairs. We all know of him, of course, because he is a public figure. We get our information from his extensive and stimulating articles in many of our authoritative journals on international affairs. He has devoted endless energy, tremendous amounts of time, and he has tried to bring to the people of our country information on the world problems. Because of the views he has so forcefully expressed at these many meetings he has attended, he has become quite a target of the Soviet warlords and I know he will bring to you a most stimulating and interesting and informative message this morning.

I have great pleasure in presenting to our conference Dr. Henry A. Kissinger who will now address you on the subject: "Germany—the Core of the European Problem and the Summit."

Dr. Kissinger.

DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER

"Germany—the Core of the European Problem and the Summit"

Mr. Harrison, President Meany, ladies and gentlemen: To follow General Medaris is not an assignment which I particularly cherish, but I'm grateful for the opportunity to be able to talk to you. This is a group about which I feel very warmly indeed, both for what you are trying to do domestically and for the positions you have taken in international affairs.

In an atmosphere where we very often have a tendency to substitute rhetoric for policy and to strike a series of poses, I always have the feeling when I meet with my friends from the labor movement that you know that mere affirmations are not enough, that all of you have experienced that even the most beautiful program is meaningless unless it is carried out by people with dedication and a willingness to make sacrifices. I have been asked to talk to you about Germany, the Summit, and the European situation—a not excessively restrictive topic.

I would like to begin by saying that the problem of peace is not at issue; everybody would like to preserve the peace. Everybody would like to see an end of the cold war. We should not debate in America about the desirability of peace but about the best means of achieving a peace which maintains our values and preserves our security. I do not think that we have the choice between security and development, between negotiation and attending to the immediate necessities. I feel very strongly that if we cannot do all of these things, we will not be able to do any of them. Secondly, it is obvious for any of us who have lived

through the past two decades that the problem of Germany presents peculiar psychological and moral problems to us, for all of us. And I might say for me too in my own life, the idea that once again Germany should be the focal point of the possibility of sacrifice is not an easy notion to accept; and yet difficult as it is, this is precisely the problem that we are confronted with today, and it is because the Soviet Union is aware of this difficulty that Germany and the European problem have come so much to the foreground.

Now we have in the past few weeks noticed a strange calm settle over the situation. We are told that the Soviets have become conciliatory; we are told that the Summit meeting is going to settle things; we are told that no one really wants a show-down. I would like to stress to you that the seriousness of the situation has not abated, that the calm we are experiencing seems to me to be the calm in the eye of a hurricane, and that the period of greatest difficulty is still ahead. When we look at the situation today and compare it with what is was when Mr. Khrushchev delivered his ultimatum, I think we have to admit to ourselves that it has already seriously deteriorated. It is the measure of our difficulty that we consider a Soviet concession the amelioration of a threat they should never have made in the first place. If the Soviet Union accepts something less than they originally demanded, this does not mean that they are being conciliatory; and our government is not doing a service either to the American people, or to the long-range cause of peace, by the constant implication that a change of tone is a change of policy and that somehow we can evade all difficult problems by generalized pronouncements such as I'm frank to say I consider the announcement at Camp David.

Now I have been disturbed by the reactions to the Berlin situation and to the German situation from the very beginning. We have heard such phrases as "Why shouldn't we improve the situation in Berlin?" "Why shouldn't the two Germanys settle things among themselves?" "Why is not the situation in Berlin abnormal?" "When two sides make unacceptable proposals, why is not the correct position to find a compromise somewhere in the middle?" "We must come up with new ideas."

Now of course we should improve the situation in Berlin. There can be no debate about this issue. The question is whether what has happened in the last eighteen months in fact has a tendency to improve the situation in Berlin. If we always say that if two sides make unacceptable proposals we must find a compromise somewhere in the middle, we are rewarding Soviet intransigence. We are then putting a premium on the statement of the most extreme demands in the hope that the thing that we will finally settle for will be a big step in advance of the status quo.

What does it mean that the two Germanys should settle unification among themselves when one of the two Germanys is a Soviet satellite imposed on the people by force and where unification would mean its end? This is a way of evading the problem and not of solving it. Also, if we ask ourselves if Mr. Khrushchev compares his position today with what it was in November 1958 when he made his unprovoked threat against Berlin, let us be honest with ourselves and admit that he can only draw the conclusion that the way to deal with the West is to threaten it since a month before the Summit meeting there is not yet an agreed Western position on Berlin.

Eighteen months after the threat on Berlin we are still debating on what to do if the Soviet Union should carry out its threats, and let's not forget that Mr. Khrushchev has told us and told us that he would carry it out. In the interval Mr. Khrushchev has been negotiating separately with each individual ally, and again even though these negotiations have been called conversations, they mean in effect the possibility of separate settlements. They would have no meaning otherwise.

In the diplomatic field at least, allied unity is severely impaired. There has been a demonstration of allied weakness; the President has said there's no sense in strengthening our forces in Europe because they couldn't do any good anyway, and he has also said that a nuclear war is unthinkable. I would like to know how he proposes to defend Berlin if these two propositions are both true. We have admitted that the situation in Berlin is abnormal; we have admitted Eastern Germany to the Foreign Ministers' Conference in the same status as Western Germany. All of this I would suggest to you indicates a deterioration of our position since last November.

What Is the Issue in Germany?

Now, what is the issue in Germany? Again, all of us who have memories of World War II cannot be happy about another conflict in central Europe, but the problem in Germany transcends any of our memories. Without Germany the advances to European integration that have been made would collapse. Without Germany, the prospects of the Atlantic Community towards which we must be working would become much lessened. Without Germany a defense of Europe will become impossible. The hope of the world is to tie Germany so closely to the western community that the hysterical tendencies and the potentially radical tendencies that undoubtedly exist cannot express themselves. If Germany should get the idea that having staked everything on close relations with the West it was left alone in its hour of need; if Germany should in fact conduct the flexible policy that everybody demands, it would wreck all the achievements of the last decade and a half. If people are concerned about Germany today, they

will have infinitely more reason to be concerned about a nationalistic Germany trying to exploit its central position, playing off both sides against each other. If Germany should get the feeling that, having attempted close relations with the West, we suddenly discovered in its hour of need how wicked it was; if Adenauer who, whatever failings he may have, has staked everything on a democratic Western-oriented Germany, if he hears nothing from the West except what an obdurate difficult man he is, then we are likely to see a new leader emerge in Germany, less rigid, to use a horrid word, less obstinate, but much more worrisome.

If the Soviets succeed in getting the West Germans maneuvering, they can then play France against Germany and us against Europe. They can produce the same kind of chaos that they did in the Middle East. Let us remember that in 1948 they backed Israel against the Arabs in order to stimulate nationalism. They then backed Egypt against the West in order to expel the West. They attempted to back Iraq in order to get a Communist foothold.

Now in this respect the situation in Berlin is a touchstone. People always say, "We cannot give Adenauer a veto over the Summit," but I must say quite honestly I don't understand why the Chancellor of Germany should not have an important voice in the fate of a German city. It isn't clear to me why the self-determination and the freedom of people which we are supposed to be defending in Asia and Africa shouldn't be equally applicable, and more so in Europe, or at least equally applicable. We can declare victory or defeat by press releases from Washington, but what is victory or defeat will depend upon what the Germans think.

I read the other day in the *New York Times* that the parties are already jockeying on who is to be blamed for the forthcoming defeat at the Summit. I'm not saying there will be a defeat at the Summit. I'm saying that eighteen months after the start of the Berlin crisis we should long since have settled the question that there couldn't possibly be any impairment of the freedom of Berlin. The mere fact that this is still an issue indicates the weakness and the failure and the lack of imagination of our policy.

Let me say a word here about the solutions to Berlin that have so far been advanced. It is often said, as I pointed out before, that we should improve the position of Berlin, and again there can be no conceivable debate about that point. I would doubt very seriously, however, whether the negotiations that have so far taken place represent an improvement of our position. I think they represent an impairment of our position. The Soviet Union threatened us without provocation; in return we have offered

them an interim agreement to regulate the status of Berlin, to limit the forces that are stationed there, not to conduct anti-communist activities from West Berlin, and not to station nuclear weapons and missiles in Berlin.

The Danger of an "Interim Agreement"

I think the offer not to station nuclear weapons in Berlin is ridiculous. We have none there now. I would like to call your attention to the danger of the words "interim agreement." By the mere fact of offering an interim agreement we have admitted that the status of Berlin is one in which a Soviet veto and a Soviet voice is essential. It is said that the Soviet Union should guarantee our rights after the end of the interim agreement, but let's be honest with ourselves. If the West is unwilling to defend its rights now, how can it possibly be brought to defend rights after the lapse of an interim agreement? How are we going to defend Berlin if the Soviet Union refuses after three years to renew the interim agreement? How are we going to determine anti-communist activities in West Berlin?

I don't think much of using West Berlin as a headquarters for intelligence operations, but I also don't think much of establishing some control commission to check into whether West Berlin does not in fact conduct anti-communist activities. To the Soviet Union, free trade unions, a free press and a free Berlin are anti-communist activities. What do we do if after a year or two of the interim agreement the Soviet Union announces that we have in fact conducted anti-communist activities and that the agreement no longer holds? Also in the whole debate on the status of Berlin, how many Americans know that the only access that we are purchasing for this interim agreement is the access to ten thousand American, British, and French troops in Berlin? How many know that the agreement would have nothing to do with the access to the civilian population of Berlin and that as soon as that agreement is signed the threat of a blockade for the civilian population of Berlin could be raised again, and the whole issue would start all over?

We are in a difficult position and the symbolic impact of Berlin will be very great. In the face of a threat to the very vitals of the Western alliance, the response was not a closing of ranks but a squabbling about what could be conceded. When you see that Britain and Germany are accusing each other of bad faith, would you have confidence that in your hour of need you would be protected by the West? If the Soviet Union can create the image that whenever they raise an issue, we feel under a compulsion to solve it, we will be in an increasingly hopeless position in the defense of the free world. Again, if anyone wants to improve the situation in Berlin, we can be infinitely flexible. This is certainly

not the problem, but if the Soviet Union offers us as a concession the gradual strangulation of Berlin, rather than the immediate collapse of it, we should be wise enough and firm enough to resist it.

The Problem of German Unification

Now let me go to the problem of Germany as a whole. It is said that nobody wants German unification. It is said that the logical thing to do is to get the two German regimes to negotiate with each other and to promote in Eastern Germany a liberal evolution similar to the one that has already taken place in Poland. It is interesting to observe the skill and cynicism of the Soviet approach. By offering a peace treaty to the two Germans, they're in a position to declare in a little while that West Germany still being in a state of war with them does not represent the will of the German people. I would suggest to you that Soviet policy is not a policy of consolidation; it is a policy which cannot but lead to the radicalization of all of Germany. The situation in a country in which there are two different governments is inherently unstable. Both German governments must claim to represent the entire German people. Both German governments have to insist that they're interested in unification. There can be no real stability in Europe, no real peace in Europe, as long as these two governments exist side by side. The real threat to peace in Europe is the maintenance by force of the satellite regime in Eastern Germany, and we have to be honest enough to admit it to ourselves.

What does confederation really mean? How can one conceive that the most Stalinist of all satellites could possibly negotiate in good faith about unification? The example of Poland is no guide whatever; in Poland liberal Communism is identified with nationalism. Many anti-communists in Poland believe that the only way they can maintain a degree of national identity is to support the liberal, or relatively liberal, Communist regime. This is not the case in Eastern Germany. There nationalism and Communism are inconsistent with each other. There you cannot hope that people would support liberalization in the hope of maintaining their national identity. Also if you look at German history, you will find that Germany has menaced the peace in two ways. It has threatened the peace when it was strong, united, and separate from the West, but it has also threatened the peace when it was weak and divided; when Germany was weak and divided, all surrounding states tried to maintain the division and fought innumerable wars in order to maintain that division. If the division of Germany is infinitely maintained, you can expect that the east European countries, on nationalistic grounds, will exaggerate all tensions.

Now, there is an even deeper problem. It is this. If the western

allies accept the division of Germany as final, if the western allies press the Federal Republic to accept its present frontiers as its definite frontiers—I'm speaking of the frontiers of Western Germany, not of the Oder-Neisse line which I think we should accept, then you will get a gradual pressure for unification on Communist terms. You will then see that the East Germans will appear as the apostles of nationalism, and we in the interest of promoting stability will have brought about chaos. Khrushchev last year said the following:

"On what foundation should Germany be reunited? Can we agree when the capitalist group proposes to achieve the reunification of Germany at the expense of the German Democratic Republic and thus narrow down the front of Socialism? The question can also be put thus: Why not reunite Germany by abolishing the capitalist system in West Germany and establishing there the power of the working class?

"If you want your children and grandchildren to remember you with gratitude, you should fight for the conclusion of a German peace treaty which would be an important step towards the reunification of Germany on our basis."

This is the extent of the peril we face.

Place Blame Where it Belongs

We can have a temporary stability; we can have peace if we consider it merely the absence of conflict, but all these formulas of confederation, of direct dealings of the two German states, will relax the tensions only until the Soviet Union is ready to press for reunification on its basis. Now I'm not saying we should fight a war in order to reunify Germany. I am simply saying that it is our duty to make clear who bears the responsibility for the division of Germany. We should place the Soviet Union constantly in the position of rejecting reasonable proposals and to bear the onus for it. If we are afraid of affirming the right of self-determination and the principle of human dignity, we are asserting in effect that we will make general proclamations only in areas where we have to do nothing except pass abstract resolutions.

I'm not asking for us to do any more than to go to the Summit conference with a concrete program in which we indicate what we understand by the unity of Germany and that if the Soviet Union rejects it, we make clear that they reject even the most moderate program. On the other hand, if the Soviet Union is worried about its security, if the Soviet Union is concerned about being attacked from Germany or from Europe, on that point we can be infinitely flexible. We have no intention of attacking them. We do not want Europe as an offensive base against the Soviet

Union. We can negotiate in good faith and with great elasticity about any program that in fact contributes to Soviet security against attack. What we cannot do is to give up either the principle of the rights of people to determine their own fate or to agree to the kind of scheme which improves not the defensive position of the Soviet Union but the offensive position.

In this connection I think that what the crisis in Europe has shown to us above all is the frivolity and the wrecklessness of our current military policy. It is true that we have the power to destroy the world several times over; it is true that we have to make greater progress in space, but we have to admit to ourselves that mere destructiveness is not enough. Our present military policy condemns us to an essentially irrational diplomacy; on any given crisis we have to make plausible to ourselves, to our allies and to the Soviet Union that we are prepared to destroy the world for some peripheral objective. In any given crisis we have to convey to our opponents that we will not ask the question whether Berlin or Germany or Iran is worth the hundreds of millions of lives. This we could do only if we behaved wrecklessly, and yet in practice at the beginning of each crisis, inevitably we are driven to say we will be calm, we will be collected, we will be rational, we will negotiate—in short we are bound by the values of our society to behave in a fashion calculated to convince the Soviet leaders that we are bluffing. I'm not saying that we should behave more wrecklessly. I am saying that since we cannot behave wrecklessly and should not, we should draw the proper conclusion; and if we had built up stronger forces in Europe, if NATO had done its duty, we would never have heard of Berlin, and we could face the present crisis with more confidence.

This goes to the very heart of some of the proposals that are being made in the security field. In the field of arms control we can make many agreements which enhance the Soviet security in the face of attack, but if we weaken the local forces in Europe even further, if we agree to schemes of disengagement as they have often been proposed, we will not improve the defensive position of the Soviet Union but the offensive position. We will increase even further the kind of blackmail that has brought us to our present impasse in Berlin.

Now you may think that I have advanced a program that has no possibility of being accepted, and I admit this; I do not believe that the Soviet Union will accept German unification. I do not believe that they will accept a reasonable program for arms control. I do not believe that they are really interested in a settlement. People said that Mr. Khrushchev started the Berlin crisis because he had something important to tell us. Well, we have seen Mr. Mikoyan; we've seen Mr. Koslov; and we have seen Mr. Khrushchev. What have they told us? What concrete proposals have they made designed to settle this issue? If the cold war was

not just an invention of two tired old men, if there were some concrete issues that produced it, it can be settled only in relation to these issues. It is definitely to the Soviet interest to get the impression that all that is needed is to sit around a table and that all that is needed is a general atmosphere of good will because such an atmosphere is demoralizing for the entire free world.

In 1955 it was said that the cold war had ended. I would like to read you just one quote—two quotes—"It is an intense sense of relief which united President Eisenhower with President Bulganin. The cold war was suddenly called off at Geneva because both sides realized that their suspicions of each other were entirely unfounded." That was in an English paper. *Life* magazine said, "The chief result of the Geneva Conference is so simple and breathtaking that cynics and commentators still question it, and Americans find it a little difficult to grasp that championship of peace has changed hands; in the mind of the world which judges this unofficial title, it has passed from Moscow to Washington."

If we cannot give concrete content to peace, we will see again that the relaxation of tensions will be followed by the present equivalent of selling arms to Egypt which mathematically had to produce an explosion in the Middle East. I'm not asking for a continuation of the cold war; I am asking for responsibility in our negotiations. I'm asking for concrete programs that reflect our values and our understanding of peace, and if we cannot express that in concrete programs, no amount of general relaxation can do us any good. I also reject the idea that we have a choice between economic programs and military programs, between the development of new nations and the maintenance of free nations. No one has ever said that preventing the Communist take-over of Europe is by itself enough. We do have a task in giving our ideas of freedom and human dignity a positive content beyond the immediate problem of the Summit.

We Must be Dynamic and Creative

We should move towards creating an Atlantic Community of Nations, and we should create institutions designed to help the emergent nations with the same kind of boldness and with the same kind of dynamism that we showed many years ago in the Marshall Plan, but to do this we cannot delude ourselves; we musn't pretend that we are not in great peril in Europe today and that our present course isn't moving us towards a precipice. We have developed not only a code of specialization but a code of the gimmick. Too much of our domestic discussion gives the impression that if we could just discover the negotiating formula that has so far eluded us, the peace of the world would magically be maintained. Too often too many of our political leaders talk as if we were working towards some terminal date at which peace can be said to have broken out.

We have to accept the fact that we will live our lives in the midst of change, that we cannot patch up things here and there. Yes, we have to be dynamic. Yes, we have to be creative, but only the purposeful can be flexible. Only if we know what we stand for and what we are willing to defend will our assertions of values have any meaning at all. This has not been a very optimistic description. It represents the facts as I see them, and it represents my conviction that in the months ahead what will be tested much more than our skill in negotiation and our technical skill in devising weapons and programs will be not so much our ability to survive but our worthiness to survive.

The Chair will now recognize Walter Reuther for some comment on the subject before the conference.

(Applause.)

WALTER REUTHER

MR. WALTER REUTHER: Brother Chairman, fellow delegates:

I would like to make several observations about the Berlin and German situation.

Obviously, this is the most serious unresolved political question in the world. I would like to share with you an experience I had almost exactly a year ago, on May 1 of last year, when I had the privilege of addressing a huge freedom rally in the West side, free sector, of Berlin. More than 600,000 Berliners gathered to demonstrate their common dedication and their common determination to defend their common freedom in the face of the Soviet ultimatum. Had you shared that experience, you would have come away deeply impressed by the sense of moral obligation that the free world has in the crisis that is developing as we go to the Summit.

We need to assure the people of free Berlin that the free world stands with them in the hour when they need this support because what we do with respect to Berlin will determine whether or not we believe in a very fundamental principle: the right of self-determination.

Mr. Khrushchev was given too many platforms in America to propagandize the American people. On each occasion he peddled the line that the Soviet Union also accepts the principle of the right of the people to exercise self-determination. All over Asia and Africa hundreds of millions of people are on the march. They are engaged in the greatest revolution in the history of mankind, and the central theme of those revolutions is the right to determine for yourself the kind of society and the kind of tomorrow in which you and your children will live.

Well, you can't believe in that principle in Asia and in Africa and surrender that principle in Berlin, because that's the principle that is involved.

Why Not Self-Determination in Berlin?

Now, why is it that Mr. Khrushchev is not willing to test that principle in Berlin? Why isn't he willing to test that principle in terms of the unification of Germany by letting the people, through the mechanism of a democratic plebiscite sponsored by the United Nations, decide by the exercise of that principle of self-determination the future course of Berlin?

He can't say that it is because he's afraid with respect to the status that Germany will assume in the community of nations; there is and there can be no difference between the Soviet Union and the free world on working out the kind of guarantees that will assure that Germany will take her place within the framework of a peaceful community of nations. On that there is no difference. Everybody wants a Germany under circumstances, guarantees and conditions so that never again will Germany disturb the peace of the world. The German people want that as much as we want it and as much as the Soviet people want it. That is the point of difference. Mr. Khrushchev is unwilling to test the principle of self-determination because he knows what the people of Germany and the people of Berlin will do when they are given the free choice of whether they take their place as a part of the free world or whether they be lost behind the Iron Curtain that decides freedom from tyranny.

I went to Berlin the first day in February of 1933, the day the Reichstag burned because Mr. Goebbels and Mr. Goering burned it down as a part of the Nazi propaganda campaign to sweep German democracy aside. In the last election under the Weimar Republic, in a working class section of Berlin that I lived in, 80 per cent of the working class voted for the Communists. In the last free democratic election just recently held, the Communists got less than 3 per cent in that same section. The workers in Berlin know that in the hour of challenge, in the hour of decision, when the Weimar Republic was in balance, the Communist deputies in the Reichstag voted with the Fascists to destroy and betray the Weimar Republic. They know that Hitler and Stalin got together and made a pact that made possible the rape of Poland and the launching of the last World War; and the closer that the workers of any country are exposed to the irony of Communism, the more they reflect it by free choice of a democratic ballot. That's why Mr. Khrushchev gives forth eloquently about the principle of self-determination. In Asia he's for the principle because they are people on the march against the status quo, against colonialism, against poverty and hunger; but in

Berlin and in Germany where you have a sophisticated, highly alert political working class movement, he is unwilling to test our principle because he knows that his kind of system will be rejected almost unanimously.

Berlin Part of Whole German Problem

I think that we need to understand that there can be no solution to Berlin unrelated to a solution of the German problem. I think we need also to understand that there will be no German solution excepting as we find a broader solution to the total world problem of power contest. I think that our basic difficulty is that we go to the bargaining table in the international arena ill-prepared. We go there to talk about the Soviet Union's demands. We go there always in response to a crisis which they have created. It is just as though the steel workers went to the bargaining table last year and the only demands that were on the table were the demands to change the work rules and to cut the pay. That's what we do. We always go there within the context of the framework that they have determined and we always go there on the defensive.

We have sat at the bargaining table and the bargaining table is, essentially, the kind of situation you find at the diplomatic level in terms of negotiations. If you go to that table in which the people on the other side of the table decide the agenda, they have created the framework in which you are going to be restricted in your movements, and they, essentially, have raised the demands and you merely have to prove that you can't grant them. You are in trouble before the meeting starts. What we have to understand is that we are in trouble in the world not because our system of human freedom is incapable of meeting the challenge of Communist tyranny, but we are in trouble because we have lost the initiative and all we do is to react to what they do. What we have to do is to begin to get off the defensive and onto the offensive, not on the military front—because nothing can be solved there—but we have to get on the offensive on the economic and social front because this is the area where potentially the free world can create the kind of dynamic force in the world which will gain such powerful momentum that can begin to create a new political, economic and social environment in which we then can begin to press forward the demands of the free world; the Communists will be coming to the bargaining table to talk about our demands instead of our going to the table to talk about their demands. There is no other way to do it.

All the things that the General said today, all the things that you can say no matter how long or how extensively you pursue the areas of foreign policy, get down to a simple, inescapable and

vital ingredient, and that's leadership. We have a country that believes that parades are adequate answers to basic problems. I'm not opposed to good will tours. I think that they are fine if you have a lot of leisure on your hands and you don't know what to do with your time. But let's not forget that when the parade is over in New Delhi and the little paper American flags which the school children have been waving on the parade grounds lie trampled and soiled in the gutters of New Delhi, the basic problems of hungry people, of desperate people, remain unsolved. And only as the free world begins to gear itself to share its food surpluses and its technology, to meet these basic and crying human problems, only then can we create the dynamics of a force great enough to shift the total climate of the world and give freedom a chance.

But this takes leadership. What do we have? We have government by clever public relations. When we need government by courageous public policy, what we have is government by slick slogans coined by the hucksters in Madison Avenue. What we need is a government based upon sound policies worked out on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D. C.

This is where we are. America is in trouble, and when America is in trouble it makes trouble for the cause of human freedom.

You know, if little Luxemburg lacked adequate leadership it would be unfortunate but it would not be tragic because little Luxemburg is not going to tip the scale in the struggle between the forces of freedom and tyranny. But the United States is the only country in the world that has the material resources and the democratic heritage and the potential for creating a counter-force against the forces that the system of Communist tyranny are mobilizing against us in the world. When we fail, then the only potential counter-force ceases to come into being.

That's why this conference is so important. It is to try to get our own people to understand, and we in turn to try to get more Americans to understand that we have everything it takes to help solve the problem of Berlin and the problem of Germany, but that we cannot do that in the absence of the kind of affirmative, adequate, imaginative leadership that can issue a call to greatness in this crisis which is no less serious in terms of defense of freedom and the values that we cherish than was the crisis following the dark days of Pearl Harbor.

We have a job to do in this country. This conference was not called to talk about politics, but you cannot separate politics from foreign affairs because we can solve the problems on the world front only by going to work and solving the problems on the home front.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you very much, Brother Reuther.

MR. McDOWELL (Upholsterers): Mr. Kissinger, might I ask essentially if what we are saying about the Berlin situation is that if every right which we have explicitly or implicitly at the present time were a result of the Summit to be incorporated in the unilateral agreement with the Soviet Union we would still have lost the game? In other words, if I came into a plant and saw a certain system, it's there and as to the contract I accept it, but the employer says, "Put in the agreement that the system is here" and we both have our names on it. Is there an entirely different status when it gets into that agreement? Are you saying that we can get everything we should have in the present time and if it goes into the agreement subject to a unilateral cancellation, we have still lost the game? Is that correct?

MR. KISSINGER: Whatever we have now we already have in an agreement. I don't see any sense in making another agreement incorporating the same rights when the Soviets have broken the last agreement having those rights.

What I object to is the proposals that have been made, the offer of an interim status where we don't even have the rights we have now for perpetuity as they exist now but where they are limited in time and where, at the end of that period, we will then have nothing. The Soviets don't even have to cancel it. They can let the agreement lapse and we will then have to see what we can get after the agreement has lapsed. This is my basic objection, though I also agree with your formulation of it.

I would like to make a comment about Mr. Reuther's remarks. I only want to say that I wish I had made them.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Are there any further comments?

(No response.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Very well. We will now recess the conference until 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Thank you very much for your attention and your attendance this morning. We will convene at 2 p.m. I urge you all to return so that we can get the conference underway at exactly 2.

(At 12:10 p.m. the morning session was adjourned.)

PROCEEDINGS

SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION

Wednesday, April 20, 1960

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Before resuming the presentation of the subject on the agenda today, I would like to acquaint the members of our conference with a recently adopted measure by the New York City Central Body for the purpose of advancing interest in international affairs and to develop people within the local labor movement with tools of information and understanding that might be useful to apply when they get back home among their fellow members. Recently the New York City Labor Council voted to provide distinguished service awards to four members of the New York City local union as a recognition for their outstanding work in the local labor movement. These awards were made to four local union officials and they carry with them not only the recognition for their valuable services to the local labor movement, but trips, at the expense of the local unions, to many parts of the world.

I have on the platform this afternoon the four local union officials who received this recognition and were given the awards and who will make the trips. I would like, therefore, to introduce to you these local union officials who have been recognized for their valuable contribution to the local labor movement in this great city. I am happy to present Michael DeCicco who won one of the awards.

(Applause.)

One of the other winners was Brother Michael Samson. He is business manager of Local 102 of the Utility Workers of America.

(Applause.)

Brother Hyman Shapiro, business manager of Local 664, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

(Applause.)

Last is Brother Thomas G. Young, secretary of Local 33B of the Building Service Employees.

(Applause.)

I should have told you that Michael DeCicco is manager of Local 76B of the Furniture Workers of America. I'm sorry that I omitted that.

Now one more thing: I would like to reiterate and repeat that these brothers are going at the expense of their local unions. This splendid example of substantial cooperation in a material way by our local unions in this great city might very well be copied in other great cities throughout the United States. There seems to be a widespread and urgent need on the part of more people in the labor movement to understand some of these world problems, because the world of today and the world of tomorrow is going to be a world of survival; they had better begin to find out how that can be accomplished.

Congratulations to our New York Central Labor Body for this progressive and pioneering contribution to the welfare of the labor movement in this country.

Now we return to the formal program of the conference and take up the final subject listed for the conference. It is not the last, because we felt it was the least important. As a matter of fact, it is the objective that we sought when we arranged to convene this conference. It is known as "The Essentials of an Effective Foreign Policy for the United States."

We have with us this afternoon to formally present this subject to our conference Mr. William Chapman Foster, who has had a distinguished career in Government service as Under Secretary of Commerce and as an administrator of the Marshall Plan and as Deputy Secretary of Defense. He has been honored by many awards and decorations by our great Government on behalf of our people.

It is a great pleasure to have with us this afternoon Mr. Foster. I am happy to present him to the conference.

(Applause.)

WILLIAM CHAPMAN FOSTER

"The Essentials of an Effective Foreign Policy for the United States"

MR. FOSTER: Vice President Harrison, President Meany, ladies and gentlemen:

I approach this subject with some hesitancy because, when George Meany called me and asked me whether I would make a speech on the essentials of an effective foreign policy for the United States, it was my belief that this should be done by the Secretary of State of the United States. I am pleased to see that this evening the Under Secretary of State of the United States is also going to talk about foreign policy. I presume there may be some differences in the two approaches.

(Laughter.)

I won't say I hope so, but I will say that I expect so.

It used to be said, with some accuracy, that America's foreign policy was simply an external manifestation of internal politics. Thus, it made sense, and votes, for James Curley in Boston to have as the principal plank in his "foreign policy" the clarion statement: "All Ireland must be free." And we are currently reminded in the Broadway musical "Fiorello" that a New York congressional election once turned on the cry, "Trieste is an Italian city."

One looks back on those days with a certain nostalgia, because of what I would characterize as the overwhelming complexity of things today. Yet I am tempted to believe that we are facing the consequences in fresh and magnified form, though I hope not climactic form, of a number of ideas which were very simple when first stated. I wonder if we fully realize how much of the body of our foreign policy really derives from the history of those simple ideas.

Let me develop briefly what I have in mind. From what stems our nation and all that it stands for? Basic, I think, was the affirmation of the Israelites that there is one God. Later came the Christian concept of the nature of that God: compassion, love, justice, freedom of the individual conscience. With this was combined the Grecian quest for truth and beauty, the Roman talent for law and order, and all the other contributions of men and nations which result in our present Western Civilization.

Our North American contributions to this civilization have been many, but three stand out. First, was our declaration of political freedom. Second, was our demonstration of a whole new concept of an industrial economy of abundance in mass production and mass marketing. I would not take the time to detail the stimulation of productivity, the fairer sharing of the fruits of productivity—for organized labor has played, as you so well know, a key role in all of this. Thirdly, we are presently leading in an agricultural revolution, a revolution of technology, which, for the first time in human history, promises that all men in the world may live above the spectre of hunger. Evaluate these contributions, past and present, as you will, and they pro-

vide the fundamentals of the policies for which we of the West have time without number shown that we will stand, and if need be die.

It is a useful thing for us of the West to consider that we are not a majority. Of the earth's twenty-five hundreds of millions of people, perhaps only five hundred millions share this evolution to which I refer. The greater number are of different religious belief or have no God. Their paths toward the freedoms we cherish have sometimes been parallel to ours, but more often they have diverged. It is true that as human beings we share certain universal characteristics and aspirations, yet we differ in ways that most of us in the West cannot comprehend. But we are the minority. The United States by circumstance of power, and by consent, is leader of the West. This is a comparatively new position for us and probably 19 years old, if you date it from Pearl Harbor. This is probably the most acceptable date; for although we had the power and the potential before that, we did not truly draw on it until we were bombed into World War II.

For a time after the war we were uneasy about our foreign responsibilities, but Korea forced us into another mobilization and without freedom of choice we have had no thought since of a hermit status. So it is for the first time in our national history that we have maintained our power in ready fact during what passes for a time of peace. It has only been in the past three years, that Russian technology in space and nuclear energy has caused us furiously to think that our power and position are open to serious challenge. Today we face that challenge in the thermonuclear and hypersonic fact. And that is one valid reason why we must have a foreign policy that defines where we stand and where we tend.

Another reason, equally valid, that we must re-think and define our national attitude stems from confusion in our land. Some may say that confusion is quite normal in an election year, and probably it is. But that is only, in my opinion, a fragment of the reason, since most of us know that we must have continuing flow in our foreign policy regardless of elections. I think the confusion lies mostly in resolving the division and direction of our total national energies and resources.

Let me explain: Modern war has many phases, of which shooting is only one. If we are enjoying, as I said a moment ago, what "passes" for peace, we are simultaneously engaged in a "war of sorts." To meet this we are mobilizing certain of our manpower and our resources in a major arms effort. This takes a sizeable part of our total resources. We are also quite eager, being human, to carry on life at as happy and prosperous a level as possible. This also absorbs a good part of our national re-

sources, and we continually face the demand to devote more resources to such needs as education, achievement in science, a stronger Government, and so on.

Each of these pressures, or demands, have their spokesmen. We are advised on the one hand that our defense effort is sufficient, and we are exhorted on the other hand to do twice as much. We are belabored in behalf of more Government effort across a range of social and educational undertakings, and we are warned on the other hand about permitting the Government to increase its share of our income and of our daily lives. I will speak to some of these points in a moment, but here I only want to illustrate for you some of the things I believe are contributing to a sense of confusion in our nation, and which require some thinking about in order to more firmly posture our foreign policy.

Essentials of Our Foreign Policy

What, then, are the essentials of our foreign policy?

I have sorted out what I believe are the irreducible essentials, and they number seven. They can be stated in any number of ways, of course, and in any order, but I state them and list them this way:

1. We stand for the concepts of freedom which are inherent in us because we are the product of Western Civilization. Any effort to attack or subvert it runs against our policy and invites resistance.

2. We support honest international agreements to harmonize differences without resort to force. This is in part because we recognize that we are in the minority and that all men do not think as we do or share our values. We also support the United Nations. We were a prime mover in the establishment of NATO as an alliance for defense against aggression in the West. We have shown responsiveness in the discussions about enlarging the Organization for Economic Cooperation by extending its base to include the broad North Atlantic area. This is good, and Secretary Dillon is to be congratulated for his part in it.

We are happy, too, in the role we play in the Organization of American States.

We favor the rule of law. We will work tirelessly within proper agencies and outside of them, if necessary, to achieve and maintain a durable peace under law.

3. We want not one inch of other lands. We want no colonies. We deplore unilateral intervention by ourselves or anyone else. We want no markets except those we win by free, honest competition to serve the best interest of the buyer.

4. We favor and seek justice and personal, political, economic and social freedom for men everywhere, including those who may lack it still within our national boundaries.

5. We share, indeed we truly lead, in the world's yearning for disarmament. We will work unceasingly and in good faith toward honest progress for limitation, reduction and control of armaments.

I have listed this as point five only because I feel that disarmament needs to be set in its constellation of related policies. It is a policy that hardly stands alone. It is a desirable policy, but it is a conditional policy.

As some of you may know, I have worked very specifically in this field. For a number of weeks I sat across the table from a Communist delegation of Russian and satellite experts at Geneva, seeking some means to reduce the danger of surprise attack. I worked on a committee set up by the White House to consider, among other things, civilian defense, and this naturally led to consideration of our total defense posture. So possibly I can usefully develop my thoughts on this fifth point against a background of some specialized knowledge and experience.

While one can hopefully anticipate total disarmament for the millennium, no one should feel that under present conditions, or under the incomplete plans so far presented, that it would be safe to accept any such present dream as the reality. However, limitation, reduction and control of armaments is so vital to the world's future that we should devote ourselves towards finding ways in which we can progressively apply them while, at the same time, in no degree reducing our relative security position.

On Reduction of Armaments

There is no real alternative to reduction of armaments if the world is to progress. Perhaps it is possible to maintain an uneasy peace if we and our potential enemies continue to increase the investment in armaments and the devotion of resources to the development of weapons. But, with the increasing drain which this would impose on productive energies, the burden, in the course of a few years, could become intolerable. One or other of the possible combatants might become impatient with the situation or fearful or being struck and might mount a surprise attack with the hope of destroying his potential enemy. This would result in the wiping out of millions of people and perhaps even the destruction of the earth as we know it.

Another alternative to adequate control, an alternative, unfortunately, supported by less sophisticated people and pushed aggressively by the Soviet Union, is for us to disarm simultaneously with the U.S.S.R., accepting their promise to disarm at

face value. This, of course, is not sense. The past record of the Soviet Union gives little assurance that they would carry out their commitment. We might then be an easy victim of subsequent demands or we could be easily defeated by them.

However, if the Soviet Union will agree to accept effective inspection and control measures, great human and material resources could become available for better purposes. It is probably unavoidable, at least at first, that progress towards reduction or limitation of armaments will show that the inspection and control mechanisms soak up most of the savings from a reduced quantity of arms. However, these savings when ultimately achieved could be devoted to improving conditions for all mankind. In many areas reliable means of inspection and control, however, require more research and development by our scientists and engineers than is presently available. However, the West's recent disarmament proposals at Geneva, presented by our Ambassador Frederick M. Eaton, have been worked out by able and dedicated men. They deserve consideration and acceptance by the Communist block. However, the proposals of the West, even if fully accepted, would only give a start. Ultimate broad disarmament, with the accompanying release of energies, will require much more thought, work and a willingness on the part of all nations concerned to give up some of their national sovereignty in this field, and this is a very hard political decision to reach.

The basis of the West's present suggestions is simply to establish an international organization which will oversee and audit adherence to any agreements on progressive steps toward limitation of men under arms and establish a surprise attack warning system. Then, assuming that the early steps have been taken, the plan is to move toward the much more difficult problems of limitation of new nuclear production, the destruction of warheads as such, and the ultimate utilization of the materials released for constructive purposes. Plans would include joint observation of any missile launching to avoid war by accident. There would also be agreement of a similar kind for space satellite firings. Satellites by agreement would be barred from carrying weapons of mass destruction. Pending this broader agreement, there is real hope of a more limited agreement in the field of nuclear tests as recently proposed by the West at Geneva.

Aid to People in Less-Developed Lands

6. We favor and actively lead in assisting people in less-developed lands to improve their conditions. In stating this item of foreign policy, I do not wish to underplay the part that is played by our humanitarian impulse. So as not to minimize our deep and true and firm desires to help those who wish to help themselves, I simply reaffirm a guiding principle of our Western

Civilization. If some few of our past efforts may have been misguided, there is no gainsaying that our motives have been correct, and this fact is known and recognized throughout the world and is, I believe, a source of much of the good will which exists for us on the part of most of the peoples of the earth.

However, our foreign policy must first basically serve our own interests, and it is abundantly clear that, with what is so aptly called the "revolution of rising expectations" accelerating in so many places of the globe, we can have stability only as we work with the revolution. In a very real sense, we started it. Our own breaking out of colonial status, our own contributions in mass production and mass consumption, and presently our own revolution in agricultural technology, have lighted the spark of hope for millions around the world. As I see it, we can best, at Government level, help those people effectively by helping them with what the French have a word for, "infrastructure," which is to say help them with roads and harbors, sources of electric power and other large scale capital requirements not otherwise available to them. From such a base they can then, with their own capital, plus private investment from the West, start to build their own per capita wealth, which is to create jobs and produce the goods for better living.

At present, lacking adequate assistance, the total income per capita per year of many of these people is less than the amount which our own per capita income is increasing per year. Let me underline that, for it may be hard to quickly comprehend the measuring. The total per capita income per year of many of these people is less than the rate at which our per capita income is increasing. The gap between our standard of living and theirs is thus increasing so rapidly that it cannot be other than a source of envy and discontent. I repeat: The gap between our standard of living and theirs is thus increasing so rapidly that it cannot be other than a source of envy and discontent. This provides a fertile field for subversion and intrusion by alien philosophies. The situation applies not only to the Far East and Southeast Asia but dramatically indeed in Africa and to an increasing degree in Latin America. The latest and nearest evidence is in Cuba.

We must, as I see it, increase in amount our resources devoted to economic assistance to less-developed countries, who can and will use it well, and encourage other industrialized countries to do the same. This requires money, which all evidence today, however, indicates will produce an astronomically high return on investment. Present returns are intangibles, to be sure, such as greater stability; but ultimately, as these countries develop, there will be sharply increased trade in which we will share. Such efforts require more than money. They require broad

human resources, which leads me to a discussion of the problem of personnel.

Able Personnel a Basic Need

There are often dedicated political leaders at the top of Government, but with few supporters of kindred talents and dedication among what we would call our "bureaucrats," our career civil servants. The United States and many of the nations of the Atlantic Community, and a few well-established countries have such loyal and competent support for top leaders. Where it does not exist, it is difficult if not impossible to carry out the policies and decisions of the leaders, no matter how sound. So one of our most important contributions in effective aid is to have our representatives join with the host government in this task of training. Thus, very central to our problem of effective aid, perhaps the chief obstacle, in my opinion, lies in personnel. The ability to attract some of our wisest and most experienced people to service in Government is essential. This can best be achieved through direct and energetic action by the President of the United States in making clear the importance of public service, by enhancing the prestige of those who accept it, and by his leadership and inspiration of top ministers of our Government to spread this spirit throughout the United States. This campaign of public education, too, could help influence Congress to be more sympathetic in terms of support, compensation and allowances for our representatives in the Foreign Service and otherwise. Such improvement will minimize the need of calling only those with wealth to represent us in the highest overseas posts.

For instance, it was my privilege to head the United States delegation of standard size to an international conference. Many of my colleagues were drafted from outside pursuits, universities, science laboratories, and otherwise, to go on this mission. We were to meet with the representatives of nine other nations, four on our side and five against. Naturally, progress could be encouraged by some informal intermingling as well as during business sessions. Under the State Department's budget, we were allowed about \$2 per week per senior person for this extracurricular activity. To do the job these funds had to be augmented by private sources.

Incidentally, the five countries on the opposite side apparently had plenty of funds to buy food and drink for the Westerners and they used them generously. Adequate compensation and allowances are sorely needed to help our ablest people in representing the United States' interests around the world.

While we presently have able, dedicated people, both among those of independent means and from the career service who

have been able to accept some of these higher posts, the number is completely inadequate compared to the number of opportunities to serve. All elements of our economy can be helpful in this connection. For instance, there are many people in the ranks of labor with their understanding of people, with their sympathy for human needs and with their broad political sense who could be outstanding representatives for present efforts abroad. I speak of this from firsthand knowledge because, during Marshall Plan days, through cooperation of the leadership of our great unions, the Marshall Plan was able to have among its top officials many men from labor. They held positions at responsible levels from advisor to mission chief. Their service was in all cases useful and in many cases distinguished. As a businessman, I am also keenly aware of the broad reservoir of ability, interest and experience among corporation executives. In the Marshall Plan, we had the benefit of the service of many from this source, too. We had, as well, distinguished lawyers, teachers, bankers, and engineers, so that it is clear that the United States has the raw material if it can be attracted and held for appropriate periods to meet the need.

In our foreign affairs perhaps to a greater degree than in any other department, we need more outstanding people and more experience, and the requirements increase in geometric ratio each year. Associated with the requirements for more people—which requirement may possibly be on the way to being helped by pending bills to have a top special personnel assistant to the President in the White House—is the requirement of reorganization of our internal affairs activities.

For instance, one recent thoughtful report by the Brookings Institution recommended that we establish a Senior Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who would be the President's chief deputy in this field and relieve him of some of the burdens. Under the Secretary of Foreign Affairs would be three subsidiary departments, namely, State, Foreign Economic Affairs and Information and Cultural Affairs, each of which would be headed by a Secretary having Cabinet status.

While I see difficulties in adding Cabinet departments, nonetheless the Brookings' suggestion is worthy of study, and I believe the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate is so doing. It is surely clear that the present system, with many functions fragmentized in a number of semi-autonomous groups and, for instance, where major functions such as those of ICA are placed under subordinate bureaus of the State Department, is not good business. It is obviously making it more and more difficult to attract outstanding people. I do not intend to reflect on the great service and capabilities of many present Government people. It is the method I criticize, not the people.

Reorganization and how we do it is important. Much more important, however, is that we do it and that we develop strong national support for economic assistance to less-developed nations. I have already pointed out the widening gap between United States per capita income and those in less-developed nations. Were the Soviet Union to attempt to invade one of these countries by force, we would instantly recognize the threat to our own freedom. We would willingly and quickly accept large responsibilities and expenditures. Extremes of poverty and ignorance of sound methods of progress just as readily invite the growth of Communism in many of these countries. This can occur without the use of force, but the ultimate threat is the same. We should therefore be forehanded partners in helping these countries to improve their lot by their own efforts, but with supplementary help from us to make those efforts more effective. It is clearly in our own interest.

Mutual Aid Must Continue

7. We must continue military assistance to those allied with us. To repeat, the Western world is a minority but it has friends, some drawn by friendship and past relationships and some drawn by fear of the Red cloud, but all contributing to a related and united strength. So much has been said on this point by the President and by his colleagues in the Administration and by various investigating committees in and out of Congress, and by our evident experience in such places as Korea and Formosa, that it hardly seems necessary for me to pound on it here. The unhappy fact is that until we can make progress toward disarmament, we must continue military aid and military alliances.

Now, there are my seven essentials. They are just one man's list, and so let them stand. But in bringing these remarks to a close, I wish to make crystal-clear what I believe is fundamental for our country in this field of foreign policy. It is to achieve a state of mind in which we recognize that the United States must continue to share its efforts and its substance in its own interest to earn and keep the leadership of the free industrialized nations and also of the uncommitted, less-developed nations. This should also help to keep the spark of hope alive in those countries which have already fallen under the Communist curtain. There is no other currently capable or acceptable nation for this role from the viewpoint of our concept of freedom and security. In achieving such a state of mind, we need a sense of urgency which apparently exists presently in the minds of but a few, a sense of urgency which will impel us to do more in science, in technology, in education, in productivity and in economic growth. You men and women, you leaders of organized labor, have, I believe, a responsibility to paint this picture clear to your millions of associates and you have, perhaps, a unique opportunity to do

something special in the fields of productivity and economic growth. Equal responsibility and opportunity, to be sure, exists in other quarters.

I would fail my own conscience if I did not give you some estimate of how we are doing in our foreign policy. Let me say this: Our military strength may seem like a domestic policy, but in today's world, with our position of leadership, it is the big stick without which we cannot speak, even softly. For us to permit ourselves to become a second-rate power, to measure survival of Western Civilization in terms of dollars, or the value of survival against the aesthetics of tail fins is disgraceful and a betrayal of the hopes and aspirations and prayers of millions who sacrificed all, that we might today even have our present choice. If I sound vehement on this point, I mean to.

Secondly, to shirk, minimize and meanly handle our foreign aid, to focus on the mistakes and not on the accomplishments and opportunities, is disgustingly short-sighted. To call this effort a "give away" is, as President Eisenhower so aptly said, to shoot down our best hope for a peaceful progressive world with a slogan. If this nation and this people have the sheerest glimmer of the utility and prospect of what our foreign aid opens to us, we may gain a wise and useful perspective on the world ahead. I am forced, sadly, to comment that the vision today seems weak and almost on the verge of being ineffective.

But the hopeful thing is that you men in this room and thousands like you, men of energy and responsibility, men of this century, can exercise leadership and can bring understanding to our people, tear the veil of complacency and apathy and ignorance from the minds of America, and let us act.

When we Americans have a clear picture of what we must do, we do it. All of us, each in his own way, can help clarify this picture. We have the resources; I pray we have the will.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Mr. Foster, I know you took time out of a very busy life to come here and present your views to our conference, and I want you to know that the AFL-CIO and our conferees appreciate the sacrifice you made and to congratulate you on the splendid contribution you have made to our conference. You have given us guideposts that we might very well think about in developing our ideas about what a successful foreign policy might be. Your remarks will be made a part of our record and, in due time, they will be distributed of course to the conferees here in attendance.

Thank you very much for coming to our conference.

(Applause.)

Now we will resume the customary procedure and time is available for comment and questions, pursuant to the rules of the initial session of the conference.

Are there any questions? Are there any comments?

(No response.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Since there is no response, I now present President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to make one comment on Mr. Foster's address.

The overall picture that he gave of our foreign policy and what he thinks our foreign policy should be speaks for itself. I don't want to comment on that portion of it. However, I do want to comment on one item that he brought out and that is that our representatives, representing the American people in the various countries of the world, must, of necessity, be men of great wealth or career diplomats who have access, in some way, to sufficient money to maintain their proper post as a representative of this great country. I think this is completely wrong.

Able Men Should Be Able to Serve

The United States of America is a country of many millions of people, all sorts of people. It is my considered opinion—and it has been for many years—that the Congress of the United States should take a look at this question of representation and provide the wherewithal by which men of proven ability, men who know the American people, men who think in terms of the tradition of the United States of America as a liberal nation, as a nation with a tradition of human freedom—that these men be enabled to represent the United States of America on the basis of their knowledge, their background, and their ability; not on the basis of how much money they have and how much they happen to put into a certain political campaign.

(Applause.)

I think it is high time that Congress looked this problem in the face. More and more we see representatives from all parts of the world, from the newer nations and also from the older nations, representatives who come from the people, who really represent the people.

I'm not trying to bar business people or people who happen to have great wealth. This is all part of the American scene, but what I am protesting against is a system which bars from positions of representation, representing our Government with the

other nations of the world, all of those who make up the citizenry of this great country with the exception of those who happen to possess the wealth by which they can become a representative and use their own money, if you please, to present the picture of the United States of America to the people of the country in which they happen to be assigned.

I think it is high time that we recognized, as have practically all the other nations of the world, that ambassadors should come from every walk of life. They should come from all of the people, all segments of society, and there should not be a financial bar or a financial preferential class, if you please, of representatives of this country.

It is entirely out of keeping with our tradition and our background. This is a nation of little people as well as big people, and, I think, that it is well that Mr. Foster brought this matter to our attention, because I have thought of it and I am quite sure many of you have in the past.

Representation in the foreign embassies of the United States of America should not be confined to the people in the higher financial brackets. It should be open to all of the people in the United States.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Thank you, President Meany.

The Chair now wishes to call on Mr. Brutus Coste, who is here representing many groups of people and many unfortunate individuals who have been deprived of their lives and their freedom by Communist Russia.

I want to call on Mr. Coste for a few remarks. Mr. Coste is the Secretary-General of the Assembly of Captive European Nations.

BRUTUS COSTE

MR. COSTE: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Meany, and ladies and gentlemen:

I would like to thank you, first of all, for this exceptional privilege which you have given me to say a few words and I would like to say these few words on a subject which was hardly mentioned during these two days, although I believe that it is most relevant to the problems which you have been discussing—the problem of the defense of freedom, the problem of survival of freedom.

I would like to begin by saying that as long as Western Europe, in the survival of which there can be no doubt, this great country has a vital stake, as long as the defense of Western Europe was

amply provided for because of the overwhelming deterrent effect of the American power of retaliation, the problem of the captive nations could easily appear as a mere moral issue. This of course, in the context of a purely defensive policy; it would not have been so in the context of an offensive policy. But the effectiveness of the American power retaliation as the mainstay of Western European defense is becoming a questionable factor as the power of the Soviet Union increases. Therefore, as we have heard from the distinguished speakers this morning, the problem of the security of Western Europe will increasingly have to be considered in terms of defense at a lesser cost than all-out nuclear war. And here, I submit, the issue of the captive nations becomes material and even vital for the free world. Because as you will try to place the defense of Western Europe on a substantially self-supporting basis, you will have to think of the deterrence which the resistance of the peoples of Eastern Europe will represent.

However great an effort Western Europe will accept in the military realm, it will never be able to match the Soviet Union in divisions. A balancing factor has somehow to be found and we believe that that balancing factor is in the resistance of the peoples of Eastern Europe in their refusal to submit; in their refusal to accept as final their subjection to a foreign-imposed dictatorship. The point is that this resistance cannot be taken for granted. We deal with people and the image the people behind the Iron Curtain have at present of the West is not flattering. The image they have is that of a vacillating, yielding, losing West. They see the issue of the freedom of these nations forgotten, shoved under the carpet. We believe that at a very small price which does not imply expenditure of treasure, which does not imply military action, the Eastern European deterrent can be preserved and even strengthened. That price is: keeping the issue alive, not by occasional statements, but by raising it at the meetings of heads of governments, summit meetings, international conferences, the United Nations. If this is done and adequate local forces are built up, the problem of Western European defense in the coming years becomes manageable.

I should like to give another reason why the issue should not be permitted to die and to be forgotten, a moral reason. The moral reason is that as long as the Western world does not stand clearly on the principle of self-determination, the emancipation of the former colonial lands will not be credited to the West and to its respect for the principle of self-determination but will be regarded as the consequence of a Soviet struggle for "liberation"; as a consequence of the powerlessness and weakness of the free world. I believe that the essential thing today is to project to the world not the image of a good but losing West, but the image of a righteous West—purposeful, powerful and winning. In championing the principle of self-determination on a global

scale, the West would take a great step towards projecting to the world this image.

The third reason for which, I believe, the issue of Eastern Europe, of the captive 100 million captive people, should be kept alive on every occasion is that Mr. Khrushchev has made it perfectly clear that coexistence does not mean for him the cessation of political struggle. And his words are being matched by actions all over the world day in, day out. If the free world permits Khrushchev and the Soviet Union to be active all over the world, all the time, while refraining from any action or even any active interest in regard to the Soviet-controlled regions where the peoples are almost unanimously on the side of the West, there is no chance for the West to win. No one expects an early solution of the problem of Eastern Europe. This is, however, no reason to forget that the issue exists. When unable to solve an international problem on acceptable terms, one is always much better off in leaving the issue open than in solving it on the terms of the enemy. Time may bring opportunities that are not even suspected today. But in order for time to be on its side, the West must be strong. It must stand on its principles. It can certainly not afford the luxury of alienating its friends, millions of friends, whose will to regain freedom will represent in the coming years an added deterrent to a Soviet forward thrust and thus an essential element of Western security.

I would like to finish by saying that the peoples in Eastern Europe have a tremendous respect and gratitude for the AFL-CIO and its great President, Mr. George Meany, who have never missed an occasion to support their righteous cause in which the West has a vital stake. I would like to hope that this conference and the leaders of the AFL-CIO will continue to give their backing to our cause and particularly will support the initiative taken in Congress by Senator Douglas and by Congressman Zablocki in introducing a resolution which urges the President of the United States to raise at the coming Summit Meeting the issue of the restoration of fundamental freedoms and human rights in Eastern Europe.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HARRISON: Mr. Coste, I thank you very much for bringing your particular and special problem to the attention of our conference. Of course, it is basic to the whole objective of the conference to learn how we can, as trade-union officials and trade-union members, make a more substantial and effective contribution to the preservation of freedom and the return of freedom to those unfortunate nations and peoples who have lost their national independence and freedom because of the brutal onslaught of the Communist regime of Russia.

You are in the house of your friends. Our policy statements in respect to your problem are clear and definite and we will continue the struggle along with you to be of assistance in regaining your national independence and your freedom.

At the same time, I should like to suggest that there comes a time when these things can be accomplished, but if we get too far out too quickly, we invite the destruction of the spirit that ultimately is cultivated and propagated to the extent that is essential to attaining the objective.

Are there any other further remarks?

Before summing up the conference, I would like to make one brief announcement, and that is that we will have a dinner in this room here tonight for all the conferees and our invited guests. The dinner is scheduled to commence promptly at 7 o'clock. If you expect to get an equal start in the race, be here so that you can start at 7. My suggestion is that you all get here as promptly as you can after 6:30. We want to get the dinner out of the way and then hear the speaker of the evening, who is the Honorable Mr. Dillon, the Under Secretary of State. The dinner will be under the chairmanship of Vice President Walter Reuther. I shall present him to the guests tonight, and then we will present our guest speaker.

I said at the outset when the conference opened that we were meeting here for the purpose of taking counsel with each other, to get information about world problems and to develop a better understanding so we could make our contribution.

I also said that the policy of the AFL-CIO organization could be found in the materials that were in the packets that were distributed to the conferees as they registered and as they were found on your tables when you came into the conference.

This was not a constitutional convention for making policy of the AFL-CIO. It was a conference of representative leaders of our affiliated unions for the purpose of bringing to them the views of outstanding leaders in the field of world affairs.

How well we have succeeded in doing that job, of course, you will determine.

I think the conference has been of tremendous value.

President Meany, in his speech to the conference, gave you the policies of the AFL-CIO, and beyond that, the views expressed in this conference by our speakers were their own views.

As I told you at the outset, they were for you to consider and analyze, evaluate, and make your own determinations as to what may be useful in your thinking to prepare yourself to make a

contribution to this work we are trying to do through the AFL-CIO.

Now this conference, as I said, I hope has helped in clarifying the pressing problems before us. There were presented to us instructive and well-documented reports by distinguished leaders in the field of international affairs. Their views undoubtedly will help to provide us with valuable information and put some of the burning issues before us in perspective and to help us in our work.

In my capacity as Chairman of the conference, I only attempt to bring the material to you.

Now, before concluding the conference, I thought perhaps it might be helpful if I undertook a brief summary of what has been presented to the conference.

Most of the speakers, I think, as you have noticed, presented the problems on a two-fold approach. One was an area approach and the other was a problem approach. Actually, this way of looking at the world picture helps us put the issues of the day in proper focus. In some areas certain problems are more acute than others. We can see most of them clearly as a result of the information which we got during the conference.

There are, of course, problems overriding these particular problems that we heard about during the past two days. They encompass our entire world civilization.

From what these speakers stressed, there are such problems as the Soviet threat to world peace and freedom. There is the great awakening of the world and their growing determination to put an end to poverty, illiteracy, hunger, disease and foreign oppression. Colonialism of every form in Africa, Europe, or elsewhere is on the way out.

From what Drs. Grigg, Tannenbaum and Rowe said to our conference, it seems clear that the peoples of the world, without regard to race, color or creed and without regard to country or continent, are awakening in this direction. They are more and more eager and determined to change their way of life. They insist that poverty, disease and hunger must come to an end as a way of life.

They have come to realize that mankind now has the industrial capacity and knowhow, the technical and scientific knowledge, to eliminate many of the perils of poverty, the crushing burden of ignorance and racial discrimination; the people are tired of the misery, the old way of life.

Nations throughout the world are coming to the realization that in this age of nuclear and outer space progress, they are

confronted with a very grave danger, as well as a really great opportunity. As we listened to the speakers, we could not but feel most keenly the great danger of war to all mankind. Today total nuclear war places before us not so much the issue of victory as the issue of our very survival. It is a painful paradox that the very instruments of human progress could become the means of mass destruction of all human life—particularly when an aggressive dictatorship possesses these means and it is not restrained by public opinion or the will of the people.

Yes, I think it is reasonable to suggest that many more countries in the world, in the not-too-distant future, will just by the normal processes discover the secrets of nuclear power and that this makes it all the more necessary and imperative that we find some way to harness and control this destructive weapon so it will not be used by irresponsibles in governments throughout the world to destroy man himself and his species.

Right here is where the Communist danger, the threat of Soviet imperialism, takes on a graver turn than ever before. President Meany pointed out that Soviet economic progress is harnessed primarily to the building of a military machine geared to aggression and to world domination. This threat of Soviet world domination forces all liberty-loving people to divert—in self-defense—so much of their resources to military projects and establishments. These resources could otherwise be utilized for eliminating poverty, hunger, and disease, and suspending economic and social progress.

In Latin America, Professor Tannenbaum pointed out that we are confronted by a rapid growth of population steeped in terrible poverty, widespread illiteracy, weighted down by military burdens. We have been correctly told that our Government must lose no time in dropping certain policies which give the impression that we are the supporters of reactionary forces, military cliques, and the privileged classes in many of these developing countries, where poverty, illness, and disease is a way of life. This never was the aim or the intention of the American people.

Our ideals and our traditions, our interests and our progress, were born out of the struggle for human liberty and well-being.

We are indebted to Professor Rowe for his comprehensive analysis of the situation in the Far East. He pointed out to us the fine results our Government has achieved through its economic help in attaining rural progress in Taiwan—Formosa. This could well serve as a model for our economic aid program, said Professor Rowe, in other parts of the world, not only in Asia.

General Medaris has certainly helped us comprehend the defense problems of our nation. He put the issue squarely before us in its proper light when he presented rational criteria for measuring the state of our defense in terms of real and potential dangers that threaten us. He raised the issue of defense from the bookkeeping level, from the accountant's table, and placed it in the most realistic fashion for assuring the survival of our nation and the progress of our democratic institutions and our free way of life.

We were indebted to Dr. Kissinger for presenting a most instructive and realistic statement of the immediate problem which was the very cause of the forthcoming Summit meeting being called—the Berlin crisis and Germany. The most striking and very latest confirmation of the aggressive intentions of the Khrushchev regime is the Soviet move against the freedom of Berlin. Dr. Kissinger made it very clear to us that in driving against Berlin, the Kremlin warlords do not mean to stop there. They do mean to take over Berlin as the next step in a Westward drive by Communist imperialism to take over all Europe and conquer the world.

We are thankful to Mr. Foster for his presentation of the essentials of a sound foreign policy for our country. The points he has stressed should help all of us to have a clearer understanding of the great responsibility which history has placed upon our nation: Today we have the primary responsibility for making the free world strong enough to deter and defeat aggression. Only our country can provide the leadership in bringing an end to all colonialism. Our country has the idealism and the economic strength for freeing the world from the perils of poverty, hunger and disease, and for maintaining world peace.

When Dr. Grigg dealt with the revolutionary developments of Africa and the Middle East, he pointed out the great awakening among their people, their burning desire for national independence, their determination to govern themselves—with all the mistakes that they might be privileged to make while they are determining their own destiny. Here the United Nations also faces the most urgent problem in implementing its decisions for bringing peace and prosperity to the Middle East and for putting an end to the savage acts of repression and violence by a privileged, narrow-minded white minority in South Africa against the overwhelming African population.

The various speakers dealing with different phases of the two great problems—the threat of Communist despotism and the rising revolt of the peoples against economic backwardness and poverty—sort of emerges into one overall and overwhelming conclusion for all of us. Humanity today has the power to end the social, economic and political evils of many centuries. These

evils can only be overcome through freedom. Once a dictatorship is established and consolidated, it degrades, oppresses, and exploits the people and it denies them the benefits of modern industrial technology, science and progress.

What I have said are more than words of warning or pious wishes. What I have said and what the speakers have left with this conference is something that all of us individually and collectively might well heed. We have a great responsibility at this critical hour confronting the human race. We of American Labor are fully aware of this tremendous responsibility.

In closing the conference, I want to remind our conferees of that message that immortal American Abraham Lincoln sent to Congress on December 1, 1862. I think it is well that it be repeated and that we never forget it, because it is most inspiring to us as Americans. It can well serve as a guide for all of us in this era of danger and great opportunities.

I quote those immortal words of the Great Emancipator:

"Fellow citizens: We cannot escape history. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us on in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. We must think anew. We must act anew."

Now, may I say to all of the conferees as a representative of the AFL-CIO, we very much appreciate your cooperation in coming to this conference. Your patience has been exceeded only by your uninterrupted attention to the proceedings of the conference. You have made a contribution to an understanding of the problems that face the peoples of the world and, particularly, our own great nation.

In returning to your homes, I know you will be better equipped as a result of this conference to spread the gospel and enlarge and implement the policies of the AFL-CIO on world affairs. If we have not succeeded in reaching that objective, then we have failed in our efforts to present a good conference to you who took the time to come here to listen to the program we had fashioned for the conference.

So, on behalf of all the officers of the AFL-CIO and, particularly, myself, thank you for your attendance and thank you for your patience. I hope you have a safe return journey to your homes and God bless every one of you.

(Applause.)

(The Wednesday afternoon session was adjourned at 3:45 p.m.)

PROCEEDINGS

DINNER SESSION

Wednesday, April 20, 1960

VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON: Ladies and gentlemen, my name is George Harrison (applause), and I am one of the vice presidents of the AFL-CIO (applause).

It is indeed a great pleasure for me, on behalf of the AFL-CIO, to welcome you to this last session of our Conference on World Affairs.

I hope you enjoyed your dinner and I know you will enjoy the balance of our program at this last session.

Before proceeding with the balance of the program, I should like to introduce my colleagues and our distinguished and honored guests on the dais.

(Whereupon the following named men, sitting on the dais, were introduced, stood, and were applauded: Vice President Jacob Potofsky, Vice President Richard Walsh, Vice President Joseph Keenan, Vice President David Dubinsky, Dr. Ernest Grigg, Secretary William F. Schnitzler, Vice President James Carey, Vice President Harry Bates, Vice President Emil Rieve, Vice President James Suffridge and Mr. Harry Van Arsdale.)

VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON: I shall now introduce the next speaker: After he addresses you, he in turn will introduce the next speaker; then, he in turn will introduce our president, George Meany.

It is a great privilege and a pleasure to introduce the well-known, articulate, and highly capable president of the Automobile Workers Organization, Brother Walter Reuther.

(Applause.)

WALTER REUTHER

"Priorities for Waging Peace"

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Brother Harrison, President Meany, our distinguished guests and friends:

I think the conference we have had is significant because this is the first time that people in the leadership of a very broad section of American Labor have taken the time to spend two days together talking about the problems of the world. We have done this because we realize that peace and freedom and all of the other basic values that we cherish as free men are essentially indivisible and that we cannot make them secure in America without making them secure in the world.

We have been talking about the many complex problems that we face in a troubled world.

This morning, General Medaris told us that we have a stockpile of nuclear weapons in America equal to ten tons of TNT for every man, woman and child living in the world. Now, we cannot comprehend the destructive power suggested by that simple statement of fact, but we can comprehend that in the world in which we live peace has become a condition of human survival because no one can win a war in which the great powers use their destructive nuclear capabilities.

Yet we still think of the current power struggle in the old context. What we need to understand is that the new dimensions of this power struggle are such that we are not struggling for supremacy, because no one can achieve supremacy; we are struggling for survival, and this means that the task is that much more difficult.

(Applause.)

Because we live in the strongest of the free nations, we, of necessity, must assume increasing responsibilities in the world. We all believe that adequate military power is essential; but we also must understand, I believe, that military power is but the negative aspect of a dynamic foreign policy. It buys us time. It gives us the opportunity and what we do with that time and how we take advantage of the opportunity in taking the offensive on the economic, social and political fronts in the long pull will be decisive as to whether we will succeed in winning over the forces of tyranny.

I happen to believe and I think the free world labor movement shares the point of view that the contest between freedom and tyranny is not going to be won by the things that the General talked about this morning, by the destructive power of the bomb or the range of the missile. In the final analysis, we will prevail

only by demonstrating that our kind of free society provides the means by which people can come to grips with and find solutions to compelling human problems. That's the area in which democracy must prove its superiority over the systems of tyranny and this, essentially, is the area in which the free world labor movement is concentrating its energy, its resources and its dedication.

We belong to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. We are a part of the great family of free labor, 57 million strong throughout the free world.

Look throughout the world. Where labor is strong, where the labor movement has struggled to win a major measure of economic and social justice, there the forces of tyranny are weak and without influence. This is why we have said many times that the free world labor movement is the most effective anti-Communist force in the world. It is the most powerful.

(Applause.)

It is one of the most positive forces working for peace and security. Why? It is because we have understood this simple lesson: That the struggle for peace and the struggle for freedom are inseparably bound together with the struggle for social justice. You cannot make peace, nor can you make freedom secure in a vacuum or a test tube. These values must be made secure in a world where there are compelling human problems that cry for solution, in a world where more than half of the people live or exist on less than \$100 per year income.

I'm disturbed because I believe we are losing ground in the struggle for the uncommitted peoples of the world, who, I believe, ultimately will be the balance of power. I think we are losing not because we are unequal to the challenge; I think we are losing because we are not really trying.

I would like to suggest that there are a number of things about the foreign policy of our Government that ought to be re-evaluated. I think we tend too often to shape our policy in the image of our fears, when we ought to shape it in the image of our hopes and our dreams. I think we tend to overemphasize military power in places in the world where people are hungry. Too often the image of America does not come through clear and sharp because of Communist distortion, and somehow we get identified with the defense of the status quo in parts of the world where the status quo is unacceptable to the great mass of people.

Sometimes we also make the mistake of trying to shape the world in our own image. We are not trying to remake the rest of the world as we are. We are fighting for a free world in which all people can decide the goals they want to achieve for themselves.

Greater Sense of Urgency Needed

I believe what we need to do in America is to throw off the corrupting influences of complacency.

I think we need somehow to achieve a greater sense of urgency, because the challenge today is no less threatening than was the challenge following the dark days of Pearl Harbor. Yet we go on, business as usual, life as usual, Government as usual, just as though we could meet the challenge of peace on a part-time basis with what is left over after we do all the other things that constitute normal life in a free society.

We need desperately a sense of national unity and a sense of national purpose, because unless we know more clearly where we are going, we will fail to commit ourselves and our resources to make it possible to get there.

I think that we need nothing less than a total effort if we are to win the peace.

Now, domestic policy, which absorbs most of our time, is inseparably tied with foreign policy because what we do on the home front determines our capabilities on the world front. This is why I believe and I have been suggesting for some time that America needs a list of priorities and an agenda on which we place things in accordance with their importance, so that first things come first.

Let me just touch on two of the things that ought to go on that list of priorities. Take the question of education:

Education, Necessary Priority

The Russians did not achieve their present level of technological competence by wishful thinking or by reading Das Kapital or the other works of Marx or Lenin or Engels or Stalin. They got there by a tremendous educational effort in great depth. Let's have utter contempt for their system of values, but let's not make the tragic mistake of having contempt for their competence. If America is to be equal to this challenge, we had better get off dead center and begin to make a comparable effort in the educational field to prepare our children to meet these complex problems in the years ahead.

(Applause.)

Then we have the problem which relates to the kind of symbol that we represent in the world. The world is on the march and most of the people engaged in the revolutions that shape the world are colored people. There is an inescapable relationship between what goes on in South Africa and what goes on in South Carolina. These people are determined to win that measure of

human dignity that every creature of God is entitled to, and we have to identify ourselves with their struggles. Their banners are not inscribed with slogans out of Das Kapital or Marx or Lenin. You will find that the inspiration behind most of these revolutions are derived from the words of Thomas Jefferson and the principles of the Bill of Rights. But, somehow, they think we have betrayed these principles of our own revolution when they look at America and what we do on the civil rights front.

I say we need as much courage now, in America, in fighting against the master race theory at home as we showed when we were fighting the master race theory in the battlefield.

Only with such moral credentials will we be able to provide or be worthy of providing free-world leadership.

Greater Emphasis on Foreign Aid

Now, on the world front, there are many things that we need to be thinking about, and I should like to suggest great emphasis in these specific areas:

I think we must recognize the need of half of the people of the world to find the capital to develop their own economic resources, to raise their own living standards and to fight poverty and ignorance and disease. The dimensions of this problem are so tremendous that it will take a greater long-range effort than we have thus far been willing to commit ourselves to.

The Russians are going to give increasing emphasis to economic penetration and political subversion. We should not help people because we are afraid that the Communists are going to capture them. We must help hungry people because they need something to eat. We must make that positive approach.

Take our food surpluses. They are a heavy burden on the American economy, but they can be a blessing where people are hungry. We can create regional granaries as insurance against crop failure. We can supplement existing diets without disturbing the world markets of other grain-producing nations.

We can use food as capital to help accelerate capital improvement in the underdeveloped countries. There are many things that we can do.

Work Through United Nations

Thirdly, I believe we need to place greater emphasis upon working through the United Nations. When you approach a country unilaterally, too often its government and people are suspicious because they think they are being involved in the power struggle. I happen to believe that one dollar spent through the United Nations in many situations will bring a greater re-

turn than ten dollars spent by a unilateral approach to these problems.

Then we have this problem that the Russians are working on. Just recently they opened up a university to which they are going to bring thousands of students from all over the world. We ought to have a scholarship program in America for American students and for students from all over the world who will qualify through competitive academic exams. We should say to these young people, "We want to enlist you in a kind of United Nations Peace Corps. You choose the profession you want to work in and we will give you a scholarship, and when you graduate you go to some undeveloped country of the world and serve there in lieu of your military service."

The more young Americans and the more young people of the world that we train to go throughout the world with slide rule, with medical kits, with text books, to work and build with the tools of peace, the greater are the possibilities that we won't have to send them there to fight with the weapons of war in the future.

(Applause.)

Everyone prays that the temporary ban on nuclear testing can be translated into a permanent agreement with proper safeguards and controls, because the human family lives under a cloud that can only destroy human life in time, and against which there can be no protection. Our Government certainly has the support of all of us in pursuing efforts at every level of diplomatic contact, in trying to find a way to make the first historic step of a permanent ban, with universal inspection and control; and then, within that framework, to pursue a disarmament program so that the heavy burden of armaments can be lifted from the back of humanity.

I would like to suggest that we had better look at the Chinese situation realistically and practically because no disarmament program can possibly be effective if the Chinese are outside of that agreement; we need realistically to begin to discuss under what specific conditions—and there must be specific conditions—the Chinese can earn a place in the community of nations, which they have not been able to do because of their past aggression.

Now, when you talk about priorities on the home front and priorities on the world front, when you talk about overcoming the gap in education, in housing, in health, in civil rights, when you talk about military program, and when you talk about an enlarged foreign aid program, there are always men of little faith who have sold America short in every crisis, who say, "This would be fine if we could afford it." Well, we can afford it because this is the price of survival. We can afford it because

the American economy is the greatest material asset in the possession of the free people of the whole world.

We have the technology; we have the resources; we have the skilled manpower; we have the technical knowhow. All we need is the will to put these things to work meeting the challenge of peace as we put them to work meeting the challenge of war.

We ask a simple question of ourselves: If we can have full employment and full production making the weapons of war and destruction to achieve the negative ends of war, then why can't we have full employment and full production making the good things for life, for people.

The good Lord has not ordained that full employment and full production are only the blessings of war. This is a decision within our control, but what we need to know is how to mobilize this abundance. If we can get a five per cent growth in our economy, we can have full employment; we can have full production; we can have adequate schools and housing and medical care; we can have an adequate defense program and we can still be able to commit that percentage of our gross national product essential for the implementation of an adequate foreign aid program.

But consider the fact that in 1958 in this country of ours because of unemployment and idle capacity in the steel industry, we lost 47 million tons of steel, which are gone forever, because the most perishable thing in the world is human labor. You can store a ton of steel. You can store a bushel of corn. But you can't store an hour of human work. You have to use it when it is available, and we threw away 47 million tons of steel that we could have produced.

What does that mean in terms of the need of the underdeveloped countries? That represents three times the steel consumed by all of the underdeveloped countries in 1959. We threw that away. Now, if Mr. Khrushchev were under-utilizing the Soviet economy to the tune of 47 million tons of steel a year, we could all relax. This is the margin of economic progress at home. It is the margin of survival in the contest between freedom and the forces of tyranny.

I think what we better do is to roll up our sleeves in America. The American workers are prepared. There is nothing that we would like more than the opportunity to share in full employment and full production, making the things we need in peacetime and making them in such great abundance that we can help other people to help themselves in raising their living standards.

(Applause.)

I want to finish with one thought: There is nothing wrong with America that a sense of rededication, a sense of purpose, cannot cure. But I am disturbed more and more when I hear the notion being articulated that man is capable of his highest achievements only in terms of negative reflexes, only when he is driven by common fears and common hatreds.

I don't buy that. I think you can get people working and fighting and sacrificing for the things they believe in as well as fighting and sacrificing against the things to which they are opposed—and yet, this is our basic problem.

We have to find a way to tap the great spiritual reservoir within the human family and get people working and acting for peace as we get them to work, to march, to fight, and to die in war. We in America must provide that leadership.

I said yesterday that after the meeting that I addressed in Berlin I left Germany, the Dusseldorf area of Germany, where they had tremendous economic power. I went to England, where they have a rich democratic heritage, but not much economic power. We are blessed with both. We have tremendous economic resources; we have a rich democratic heritage to give meaning and purpose and direction to the utilization of those resources.

That's why we share the major responsibility in this troubled world. Let's go forth from this conference with a great sense of understanding and a greater sense of urgency to do what we can to get America to move from the dead center of complacency, to take the offensive, so that we can mobilize our economy, achieve full employment and get on with the job of fighting a total effort to win the peace.

Thank you.

(Rising applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: I'm now privileged to present to you our guest speaker.

We are most fortunate to have him here to conclude this two-day conference on world affairs.

He is a distinguished American with a very wide and varied career. He has been a most successful member of the Wall Street financial community. He has had a very distinguished military service, serving in the Pacific theater during the last war as a Lieutenant Commander in the United States Navy. He served as the United States Ambassador in France, Special Adviser to NATO, and participated in numerous international conferences, including one of SEATO; more recently he has been representing the United States in meetings of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

We in the labor movement have been most encouraged by his recent forthright statements on the need for achieving greater economic growth to meet the challenge that economic growth in the Soviet Union represents to the free world.

Our guest has done the many jobs that he has been charged with so well and with such great competence and dedication that recently he was elevated from Deputy Under Secretary of State to the Under Secretary of State. This was done not by the President; this was done not by the Secretary of State. It was done by act of the United States Congress.

At this time, I am very privileged to present to you our distinguished guest, the Honorable Douglas Dillon, the Under Secretary of State.

(Applause.)

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE DOUGLAS DILLON

"American Foreign Policy Today"

HONORABLE DOUGLAS DILLON: Mr. Chairman, honored guests, and ladies and gentlemen:

First, let me thank you, Walter, for that build up.

The conference you have just concluded provides renewed evidence—if indeed any were needed—that American labor is conscious today, as never before, of the great efforts which our country must make in the never-ending search for peace. American labor well knows that we can no longer think of our security as something apart, enshrined in a "Fortress America;" American labor recognizes that we cannot continue indefinitely to enjoy our material well-being unless other peoples—particularly the underprivileged of the newly developing areas—also prosper. American labor is a truly influential force whose understanding and support of our international objectives are essential to their achievement. I therefore welcome this timely opportunity to discuss three major aspects of our foreign policy:

First, our efforts to preserve the liberty and strength of the free world, and to resist the Sino-Soviet imperialistic drive.

Second, our efforts to keep the fierce and inescapable struggle to which we have been challenged by the Communist leaders from exploding into war.

Third, our long-range search for a world order capable of securing peace with justice and freedom.

Soviet power and determination to expand Communist influence throughout the world pose grave and continuing threats to peace. Despite constant talk of "peaceful co-existence," there

is no evidence that Communist expansionist ambitions have altered in the slightest. It is true that Soviet rulers now appear anxious to pursue their unchanging goals through non-military tactics—through diplomacy, trade, economic aid, propaganda, and internal subversion. However, they remain fully confident that the totalitarian system shall prevail. Their present emphasis on non-military measures does not mean that the struggle will be less intense nor the stakes less important. The primary issue today is nothing less than the survival of free men in a free civilization.

(Applause.)

Meanwhile, the Sino-Soviet bloc maintains enormous military power, which reinforces its constant pressure upon the free world. The risk of armed conflict is always with us. We must mount a vigorous and continuing effort to contain that risk if peace is to be kept.

A first imperative is to maintain our military strength at a level which will ensure that the Soviet leaders will never be tempted to unleash thermonuclear war against the United States or its allies. We have such strength today, and I can assure you that our present and projected defense programs will maintain and reinforce this essential strength.

Another imperative is to maintain and reinforce our collective system of defensive security pacts, involving nearly half a hundred nations and reaching the farthest corners of the globe. This collective strength is urgently required to deter the Communists from using local military force—as they did ten years ago in Korea—to expand their empire. Its need is pointed up by the actions of the Chinese Communists in the Straits of Taiwan, their crime against Tibet, and their recent military pressures on the borders of India.

So long as danger persists and there is no general and effective system of arms control, we and our allies must keep up our defenses. We must not be deluded by any superficial appearance of “detente” into relaxing these efforts.

But this is not enough. To keep the peace we must also try to establish rational communication with the Soviet Union. Despite undiminished Soviet ambitions, there is considerable evidence that the Soviets, like ourselves, are conscious of the dangers of the present situation and wish to reduce the risks of major war. We are seeking to verify this through negotiation. Our immediate objective is to minimize the risk of war by miscalculation. Our ultimate objective is the removal of these dangers through settlement of outstanding issues and the creation of a stable world order. This, however, is a long-range goal which

cannot be realized unless and until the Communist leaders abandon their imperialist ambitions.

With these objectives in mind, we are now engaged in the arms control conferences at Geneva and are preparing for the Summit meeting next month in Paris. We are and shall be open-minded in our search for agreements which could alleviate the present dangerous confrontation—but without sacrificing those principles we deem to be right and just.

Berlin Issue Critical

The central issue confronting the Soviet Union and the Western nations at the Summit is the problem of Germany including Berlin. No issue on earth today is more critical. It involves the immediate fate of two and a quarter million West Berliners and the ultimate destiny of about 70 million Germans. It bears directly upon the future stability of Central Europe and the possibility of a lasting European peace. It represents a critical test of the integrity and dependability of the free world's collective security systems—because no nation could preserve its faith in collective security if we permitted the courageous people of West Berlin to be sold into slavery.

(Applause.)

It also represents a critical test of Soviet good faith in all areas of negotiation. For the goals of disarmament and the general improvement of East-West relations have no prospect of attainment if we find that the Soviet rulers or their East German puppets are prepared to use force or the threat of force in an attempt to isolate and subjugate West Berlin. Finally, we must recognize that the issue of Germany and Berlin, if it cannot be resolved through negotiation, may involve the gravest of all issues: The issue of peace or war.

In the long run, the problem of Germany and Berlin can only be solved through German reunification. This the Soviets have so far rejected, fearing to put their rule in East Germany to the test of a free vote. But we cannot abandon our goal or abate our efforts toward its achievement, because we know that a divided Germany will remain a powder keg so long as the division persists. Meanwhile, we are willing to consider interim arrangements to reduce tensions in Berlin and lessen present dangers. But we are determined to maintain our presence in Berlin and to preserve its ties with the Federal Republic. We will not accept any arrangement which might become a first step toward the abandonment of West Berlin or the extinguishing of freedom in that part of Germany which is a free, peaceful and democratic member of the world community.

It would be highly optimistic to pretend that prospects of an early agreement are bright. Mr. Khrushchev has had a great deal to say recently which bears upon Berlin and Germany, and his words leave the inescapable impression that the Soviet view of Berlin is far removed from the facts. Let us examine some of his comments:

He begins with the assertion that West Berlin lies "on the territory" of the so-called German Democratic Republic. This is not only false, it is contrary to the pledged word of the Soviet Government. While it is true enough that the Soviet-occupied portion of Germany surrounds Berlin, it is equally true that Berlin was given separate status under the occupation agreement—which the Soviets themselves formulated, together with the British and ourselves.

Moreover, the so-called German Democratic Republic is one of the outstanding myths in a vast Communist web of prodigious mythology. Its puppet rulers are totally under the control of Moscow.

Despite tireless efforts to build a local Communist apparatus in East Germany, it is doubtful that these rulers could remain in power for a single day without the support of the Soviet bayonets.

(Applause.)

The East German regime is not recognized as a government by any non-Communist nation. Both legally and as a matter of geographic fact, West Berlin is entirely independent of the so-called German Democratic Republic—and it will remain so.

(Applause.)

West Berlin "A Free City" Now

Mr. Khrushchev continues to insist that Western forces leave West Berlin and that it be declared a "free city." He ignores the fact that West Berlin is already a free city—the lone island of freedom within the boundaries of the sprawling Communist empire. When he speaks of making West Berlin a "free city," his meaning is only too clear: he desires West Berlin to be free from protection, free from security, free from its commercial and cultural ties with West Germany—and cut off from freedom itself.

Mr. Khrushchev has also complained that the situation in Berlin is "abnormal." With this contention, we can wholeheartedly agree. It is indeed abnormal when one million East Berliners are forcibly divided from more than two million fellow citizens in West Berlin—when they are constrained to live

under a totalitarian regime unlawfully imposed by a foreign power—and when even family units are divided by an arbitrary boundary imposed in the name of a foreign ideology.

But the abnormal situation in Berlin is merely one facet of the greater abnormality created by the artificial separation of the East Zone from the remainder of Germany. The monstrous nature of this abnormality has been strikingly demonstrated by the fact that more than two and a third million East Germans and East Berliners have, during the last ten years, exercised the only franchise available to them and have voted with their feet against Communist rule by fleeing to West Berlin and the Federal Republic.

The abnormality of which Mr. Khrushchev speaks can be cured only by permitting the whole German nation to decide its own way of life. The only practical way in which they can exercise this right is through free elections. Mr. Khrushchev and other Soviet spokesmen have often proclaimed their devotion to the principle of self-determination. This pretense is exposed as an empty gesture when they refuse to apply that principle to Berlin and Germany.

Mr. Khrushchev has also argued that we must move rapidly to liquidate the "left-overs" of the Second World War—among these he includes what he describes as the "occupation of West Berlin by American, British and French forces." We are even more anxious than Mr. Khrushchev to liquidate the left-overs of World War II. But Mr. Khrushchev must recognize that these left-overs are rather numerous:

Is the Soviet Union prepared to remove its forces from East Germany and the Eastern European countries on which they are imposed?

Is it willing to grant self-determination to the East Germans and to permit the peoples of the Soviet-dominated states in Eastern Europe to choose their own destiny?

(Applause.)

Is it willing to abandon the fiction of a separate North Korea and to permit the entire Korean people to reunite under free elections supervised by the United Nations?

Is it at last willing to cease obstructing the operation of the United Nations Charter—to which the Soviet Union pledged itself in San Francisco—and whose application it has consistently frustrated by a series of vetoes in the Security Council?

The United States and its Western allies would be happy indeed to see these left-overs of World War II liquidate. But we

are not prepared to begin this process by permitting the isolation and engulfment of West Berlin.

We have repeatedly informed Mr. Khrushchev that we will not negotiate under duress. Yet in his recent statements about his intentions to sign a separate peace treaty with the so-called German Democratic Republic unless an East-West agreement is reached on Berlin, he is skating on very thin ice. We are approaching the Summit with every intention of seeking a mutually acceptable solution of the German problem, including Berlin, of seeking just settlements of other international differences, and of exploring ways to improve relations between the Western world and the Soviet bloc. Our positions are flexible, and we are willing to explore every reasonable avenue that may lead to agreement. But Mr. Khrushchev and his associates will be profoundly disillusioned if they assume that we will bow to threats or that we will accept their distorted picture of the German problem as a factual premise upon which to negotiate.

(Applause.)

No organization has stood more firmly or been more helpful in the fight for the freedom of Berlin and all Germany than the AFL-CIO.

(Applause.)

It was in recognition of this fact that your president last December 7th received a high decoration from Chancellor Adenauer. As a Government, we are proud to associate ourselves with Mr. Meany's statement on that occasion, and I quote: "Neither the freedom of West Berlin, nor the freedom of the 50 million people of West Germany, can be objects of international bargaining."

(Applause.)

Victory Over Want and Misery

I have so far outlined those policies which we are pursuing in order to keep the peace. But this alone is not enough; we are energetically striving to advance the freedom and well-being of all the world's peoples. This is our "program for victory"—victory over want and misery in the period of intensified competition with Communism that lies ahead.

Your Executive Council has well stated: "Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world live in abject poverty and are denied the essentials of political and spiritual freedom. Soviet imperialism continues to intensify and place increasing emphasis on attempts to exploit this poverty and injustice."

It is these underprivileged and newly developing peoples who are increasingly the target of Soviet policy. The Communist

drive is far more than economic—it also involves political, psychological and cultural factors.

As free men we have accepted the Communist challenge in the newly developing areas, confident that our society and principles represent the revolutionary dynamic of freedom that must ultimately prevail.

We must continue to carry the message of freedom and share its rewards with the less-privileged peoples. Unless they can have hope for the future, their desperate poverty may incline them to Communist panaceas. We must continue to help them gain a stake in freedom. We must work with these peoples to build up their countries on the same basis of mutuality of interest that has guided the diverse groups in the United States in working together to build our great country.

The welfare of all of the newly developing areas is a matter of deep concern to us. The position of our friends and neighbors in Latin America is of special importance, and I can assure you that we shall never take our southern neighbors for granted. We are sincerely interested in the advancement of the newly emerging peoples of Africa—and our concern is by no means limited to material progress. We are deeply sympathetic to the yearnings of the African peoples for dignity and for equality. It is our sincere hope that the United Nations Security Council resolution of the 1st of April, which deplored current developments in South Africa and called upon the Secretary-General to consult with the government of South Africa, will prove to be effective.

I know that I do not have to appeal to you for support in our efforts to extend the blessings of freedom to all men, everywhere. In the resolutions adopted by your convention at San Francisco last September, you called for "an expanded, long-term and fully effective program of economic aid and technical assistance to the industrially less-developed nations."

Your strong support of this program is most welcome. I know that you, like most Americans, look upon our Mutual Security Program as a direct investment in our own future safety and well-being.

Private American groups—notably labor—are important in communicating the ideas and values of a free society. Great work has been done by the AFL-CIO, both on its own and with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in assisting free labor organizations in many parts of the world. This work has already made a vital contribution to the development of peoples newly emerging into freedom and statehood.

Labor, as we know, has always been a major target of Communist subversion. With the increased emphasis which the Soviet Union has begun to place on economic penetration, the AFL-CIO and the free labor organizations abroad with which it is associated will be confronted with an even greater challenge in the years ahead. The task of American Labor in making its experience of economic advancement in a democratic framework understandable and usable to the newly developing countries is indeed a challenge that will increasingly require all the ingenuity and perseverance that can be mustered. Free labor is in an especially favored position to bring this message to the workers of the developing countries and to point up the illusory nature of the Communist appeal to achieve economic development at the cost of personal and national freedom. Free labor, I am confident, will continue to play a highly significant and constructive role in providing ideological leadership, technical guidance, and its rich experience in freedom in support of the legitimate aspirations of workers throughout the world.

In our dealings with the peoples of the newly developing areas, we must always be aware that what we do here at home has a direct bearing on our success abroad. Our country projects its image to all peoples, for better or worse. They are impressed by what we do, rather than by what we say. If they see us dealing effectively with our own internal problems—economic, educational, racial, political—they will have the best answer to the Communist argument that only by imitating its own degrading, totalitarian methods can new nations achieve economic development and a high standard of living.

We can and must demonstrate through sustained economic growth that freedom works, and that it, better than Communism, can mobilize human energies and bring about equitable sharing of the fruits of labor. We can and must bury the Soviet myth that our system is decadent, while Communism is the “wave of the future.”

We can do this—but only if we are deeply aware that our problems are world problems. We must realize that all we do, or fail to do here at home, has a global impact and affects American interests throughout the world.

“Peaceful Co-Existence” Minimal

We know what “peaceful co-existence” means to the Soviets. The Communist interpretation of “peaceful co-existence” is illustrated by their deeds as well as by their words. Even as they enunciate their doctrine, they proclaim in the same breath that the Communist system will ultimately absorb all other societies. Meanwhile, they continue to direct a deluge of poisonous propaganda against neighboring states and to make pro-

nouncements aimed at stirring up domestic controversies within those states. Their subversive agents and puppet political parties are active in nearly every country in the world. Their economic and trading relationships with other countries are designed not just to further legitimate trade interests, but as levers to increase their political influence and power. This is “peaceful co-existence”—Soviet style—in action. We also know that to the Soviet Union “peaceful co-existence” can even include the use of military force whenever it suits their purpose, as in the brutal repression of freedom in Hungary.

Actually, the very phrase “co-existence” is both weird and presumptuous. Until the rise of such modern totalitarian systems as Nazism and Communism, the right of separate states and systems to exist was unquestioned. Co-existence has always been assumed to be the minimal condition of peaceful international relations.

But even this minimal concept of live and let live is totally inadequate in today's world. We must live and help live. What the world really needs is cooperation—a positive and vigorous cooperation through which all systems and societies can join hands in seeking solutions to pressing human problems. The United States believes in the right of all peoples to choose their own beliefs and systems, with mutual tolerance and respect for one another. We are convinced, because of our own national experience, that diversity is as useful as it is inevitable—that human differences represent a vital fountainhead of human progress. Let us therefore relegate to the scrap heap the concept of a transitory and uneasy co-existence, and seek instead to utilize the diverse attitudes and talents of all peoples to solve the age-old problems of poverty, disease, ignorance, oppression and injustice. Let us cooperate affirmatively to develop the structure and tissue of a true world community.

Now, what is the goal toward which we are striving? What kind of world do we want to see eventually come into being?

We seek an orderly world community in which the danger of war is no more and where the rule of law allows man to safely devote his energies to the arts of peace.

In its preamble, the Western Disarmament Plan, which was proposed last month at Geneva, makes this clear. It sets as an ultimate goal a secure, free and peaceful world disarmed under effective international control where disputes would be settled in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

To attain this objective, the Western plan encompasses two parallel efforts: One to control and reduce armaments. The other to strengthen peace-keeping machinery.

The plan calls for progressive disarmament measures which must be mutually binding and adequately inspected.

As a practical beginning, we aim at arms control measures to reduce the risks of war by miscalculation and to end the unregulated diffusion of nuclear weapons. For many months, negotiation has been under way. If it should be successfully concluded, a significant step toward limiting the further spread of nuclear capabilities will have been achieved. But this is not enough. We further seek prompt agreement—and the sooner the better!—on measures to reduce the risk of war by miscalculation, on safeguards against surprise attack, on measures to forestall weapons activity in outer space, and on an inspected halt to the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. We recognize that such measures would not drastically curtail existing armed forces. But they would stop the arms build up and would reduce the danger of global war.

Once a lid has been placed on the presently accelerating arms race, we should push on to far-reaching measures of controlled disarmament. Armed forces should be reduced to levels required only for internal security, and weapons of mass destruction should be eliminated. No nation or group of nations could then defy the organized will and purpose of the world community.

Enforceable International Law

Parallel to the measures for safeguarded arms reduction, we aim for the development within the United Nations framework of a system of universally recognized international law, and of international machinery for the enforcement of such law and for the settlement of disputes arising under it. This would require an international force capable of deterring aggression. Certainly, this nation will not disarm across the board unless we are assured that an international body is in being to preserve the peace.

(Applause.)

These, then, are the ways we seek to advance toward the ultimate goal of a more orderly world. The task will not be an easy one. A look at Chairman Khrushchev's disarmament plan, which constitutes the basis of the Soviet bloc's position in the Ten Nation Disarmament Conference, makes this clear. It is, in fact, not a plan at all, but a broad statement of objectives—Communist objectives. Arms control and reduction measures are covered in sweeping generalities. No concrete provisions are made for verification and control arrangements. Nor is there any provision for policing the peace in a world devoid of arms.

We Americans are impatient. We want quick, complete solutions. But no such solutions are available for today's interna-

tional problems. Only a world assured of reasonable stability, order, and justice under law, can serve the interests of our country and of all peoples.

Such a world cannot be built overnight. Yet unless we make progress toward it, we may reach a point of no return. We shall strive toward its realization—through the UN, through our disarmament negotiations, through other negotiations with the Soviet Union, through all the far-flung efforts of our people at home and abroad in the fields of defense, of foreign trade and investment, of development assistance, of cultural relations, of personal contacts, and diplomacy.

To succeed, we will need to do more in all these fields. It is only through our united efforts as a nation that we can hope to advance our best interests in the era of rugged competition that lies ahead.

We are now engaged in a deliberate effort as a nation to influence the forces of history on a world-wide scale. Ambitious though such a task may be, we have no alternative. For unless the rapidly changing world environment is shaped toward a new era of general freedom and prosperity, and of universal order and law, neither the United States nor any other free nation can live safely—or perhaps even survive.

Our awareness of these truths drives home a sobering realization of what is required of each one of us. Our national achievement can be only the sum total of our accomplishments as individuals. The Government at Washington has no power or capacity independent of the people who make up this nation.

This is no time for easy living, for lax standards, or for personal pursuit of material benefits at the expense of the nation's interest. I appeal to all Americans to demonstrate once again that revolutionary zeal and ardor that won our independence, that saved our national unity, that drove Americans on to conquer the wilderness and create a great civilization. We are called upon today, almost literally, to help create a new world.

This is a task to inspire all Americans and enlist their dedicated efforts, today and in the years to come.

Thank you.

(Rising applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Secretary Dillon, on behalf of all of the delegates and our friends who are gathered here in this final session of our two-day conference on world affairs, I would like to thank you for a very thoughtful address and a very clear and concise and comprehensive statement of United States foreign policy.

You have been most generous to come here and give us of your very limited time. We know that you have to rush off. I want to thank you for coming and, I think, that all of us have gotten a great deal out of this most comprehensive statement of United States foreign policy.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

Now, since Vice President Harrison has made it extremely clear beyond doubt that vice presidents are a dime a dozen in the AFL-CIO, I am privileged to call upon the only president, our good president, George Meany.

(Rising applause.)

GEORGE MEANY

"Obligations of Citizenship"

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Reuther, Brother Harrison, Secretary Dillon, and my colleagues on the Executive Council, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me say, first, that I am not going to speak at great length.

(Laughter.)

You have been very patient. You have heard a barrage of words in the last few days. I might say that you have heard some very important words from people who are knowledgeable in fields that we have an interest in. I just wish to stress the fact, as Secretary Dillon did a few moments ago and as our other speakers have, that this is not an easy task which the American people have set before them. The road to peace under the present circumstances is going to be a long, hard road. It calls upon the best that we have to make our contribution to this peace we so desire. And, at the same time, to preserve the type of society which we cherish here in America.

We have told our Government what we think should be the foreign policy. We have let everyone know our ideas of what other people should do. I think it would be well to close this conference by reminding ourselves of our obligations, and I know no better way of doing that than to repeat to you a few sentences delivered by General Medaris this morning after he had outlined all of our missile problems to which he brought the expert mind of an experienced military man. He had something to say about the obligations and the duties of citizenship. Speaking of all the American people, he said this:

"They must recognize that they are citizens first, and that selfish or local interests, or the peculiar special requirements

of any one group within the framework of our citizenry must take second place. They must fully understand the nature of the total threat to their security and to their freedom and that this threat is by no means limited to the military sphere. Selfishness, softness, lack of understanding and disinterest can be just as deadly to America's future as any lack of military power. The crises of these times demand patriotism of the highest order. If our people understand this fact, I have no doubt that they will rise fully to the occasion and demonstrate that the strength of free men is far superior to that of any system of slavery."

May I say on behalf of the AFL-CIO, in the finest traditions of the American trade-union movement, in the tradition of Samuel Gompers, who always placed citizenship before trade unionism, that American Labor in these trying days ahead will rise fully to the occasion and demonstrate our belief in a society of free men in a world of free people.

Thank you,

(Rising applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON: This concludes our program. Thank you very much.

(At 9:40 p.m. the dinner session was concluded.)